

LETTERS

Banks would die in South Dakota

Butner, N.C.

I am writing with reference to Harold Rubin's succinct article, "Legal History of an Indian: South Dakota vs. Dennis Banks" [*The Nation*, Aug. 6-13]. I found the article enlightening, and quite true. Should Governor Brown lose his battles with the judiciary in California and Mr. Banks is returned to South Dakota he will be summarily executed, either by the federal law-enforcement officials there, or the Sioux leaders confined "up on the hill" in Sioux Falls at the South Dakota Penitentiary!

I was confined to that institution for a short while in early 1976 and I have heard certain American Indian Movement leaders there state unequivocally that Banks is a dead man if he ever hits the joint. I have also had a deputy U.S. marshal (who is a Sioux) tell me *sotto voce* that if Banks is extradited to South Dakota he will be executed by federal law-enforcement officers because of the problems he created for them in the past. This statement was made while the deputy marshal had me in a car in chains on the way to the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth.

I trust you will publish this letter so the people of the United States will realize just how racist the government officials (both state and federal) in South Dakota are, especially William Janklow, S. Dak. Attorney General. The state's prison officials could put Wallace's Alabama penal officials to shame in the cruel and inhumane manner they treat Indians confined to the South Dakota Penitentiary. They are beaten, intimidated, demoralized and constantly under a threat from the administration, particularly one Maj. Richard D. Rist (in charge of custody) and one Dean Hinders (in charge of classification). The warden, Herm Solem, is just a political figurehead. Rest assured that should Dennis Banks be removed to South Dakota he will be executed, quite illegally. And then they will bury him at Wounded Knee.

Raymond E. James
Duke Unit (#35259-136)
Federal Correctional Institution

America's finest

Alfred, N.Y.

Hurrah to you for pointing out [editorial, July 9-16] the undercover way in which the neutron warhead has been handled. I particularly appreciate your distinction between "tactical" and "strategic," semantically.

I'm surprised to learn, however, that you refer to it as a "new weapon." I was appalled upon learning of its existence more than ten years ago; when it reared its ugly head again, I thought I had heard of it via *The Nation*. Maybe it was SANÉ?

Right in the American Grain, ain't it (no affront to Williams intended)? Kill people, but by all means save property. . . .

Joyce Benson

Israel in balance

Missoula, Mont.

David Caploe's "New Look at Israel" [July 23-30] continues the high-level analysis of events in Israel which some of us have come to expect from *The Nation*. In short, you are not frozen into the kind of pro-Israel syndrome which unfortunately is the case with some liberal thinkers and publications in the United States. I especially find myself in sympathy with Caploe's statement: "Thus it seems unlikely that Israel's American supporters will ever again be able to reduce the complex set of issues that comprise the Arab-Israeli conflict to the simple moral equation of good versus evil and innocence versus malevolence." Congratulations again on your balanced approach to this problem!

William H. Fisher, Prof. of Foundations of Education (School of Education), U. of Montana

EDITORIALS

Timid Illusions about Panama

The test of a nation that pretends to greatness is the steadiness with which it treats issues that may, or may not, affect its vital interests. If it responds flabbily to a real challenge, or if it reacts excessively to one that is not serious, then it is not behaving with the calm self-confidence that marks a genuinely great power.

It is by those criteria that the United States should be judged in the matter of the proposed new treaty on the Panama Canal. And the unfortunate truth is that this country is failing on all counts the test of stability, not to say greatness.

Our political leadership is acting with such unbecoming timidity on this question that it strains truth to call it "leadership" at all. From Carter on down it is tiptoeing through the political mine fields it sees or imagines instead of advancing boldly toward the objective of righting old wrongs and establishing a sensible modern balance of interests with Panama on its Canal.

We say "its" Canal because, brushing aside the legal question of sovereignty (which we never have possessed except in the dubious "if it were" sense of the 1903 treaty), the fact is that the United States created the nation of Panama in a fit of instant imperialism in order to produce grateful rebel chiefs who could more easily, and cheaply, be bribed into allowing us to dig that ditch than their Colombian overlords. The price of this political sleight of hand was extraordinarily low, and it has remained insultingly so for three-quarters of a century. We should long ago have had our rent raised for the waterway, even as its value to us and to the world's ocean commerce declined. We callously neglected to do so until our contemptuous ways toward our Panamanian clients have got under the skins of all of Latin America's proud peoples and produced a festering continental chauvinism with Washington as its target.

The proposed treaty is unmistakably to the United States's advantage. Panama gains something too, but this country hangs onto its control until the year 2000 and, even after that millennium, has the right to protect its "security" forever and a day. Given the license that particular notion has conferred on us all over the world in the recent past, it is hard to see what we are giving up except for some bureaucratic sinecures and a pinch of nostalgic symbolism.

The rub is in the latter notion. We "lost" a China we never had a generation ago, and only yesterday we "lost" an Indochina that was a phantasm of hegemony. So how can we now face the "loss" of a piece of real estate we really have seemed to own for all these years? It is on these strings of sentiment that our native chauvinists are already playing their stirring tunes.

Ronald Reagan set the theme last year in his try at the Republican nomination: "We bought it. It's ours. We paid for it. We ought to keep it." That other California Republican, the eccentric Senator Hayakawa, put the chauvinist case in a more accurate and elegant formula when he remarked that "we stole it fair and square."

Then there are the all-out types like Senators Thurmond and Helms who would not blanch at a bit of war to keep the Canal out of the hands of the "natives" who would possess it in the next century. Sober nose-counters tell us that ratification of the new treaty is a chancy thing.

It seems not to matter to the superpatriots that the U.S. military declares that the Canal is of little strategic value these days and that it is, in any case, easy to sabotage and generally indefensible. Their dreams of glory remain intact as they snooze through the age of missiles, gazing down memory lane as Teddy Roosevelt charges yet again up San Juan Hill. For them what counts is pride and patriotism, both deliberately false. They hope this corny act still plays in Peoria.

It would be extremely depressing if the Panama Treaty failed of ratification. The Senate would have initiated the Bad Neighbor policy. New and serious troubles would spread through all of Latin America, opening up opportunities for armed intervention all over the hemisphere in the interest of the United States's "national security." This may be what the hard-liners are really after. They may not be content with the "friendly" military dictatorships that run most of Latin America in cahoots with U.S.-based multinational corporations. They may seek a more binding United States hemispheric hegemony.

If so, the way to start that process is to reject the Panama Treaty and prepare militarily for the troubles that would certainly follow.

Happy Sounds on Dictatorships

As for the troubles that already exist in Latin America, the Carter administration seems bent on wishing them away. During the past two weeks, headlines have marked the routes of Andrew Young as he toured the Caribbean and Terence Todman, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, visiting the Southern Cone countries. One purpose of their trips was to spread the human rights gospel. Young, who was the guest of relatively benign regimes (with the exception of Haiti), did a creditable job. Todman did not.

In fact, the doubts we originally had about Todman's fitness for his post [see *The Nation*, February 26] have deepened during his months in office. On his recent trip he hopped from Chile to Argentina to Paraguay to Uruguay, making happy sounds all the way. He and his delegation met with opposition politicians (those who remain alive and at large) and church groups, a possibly useful exercise. But Todman's public statements stressed how much better things are in junta-land. For instance, Todman saw Argentina as emerging from a "period of abnormality" under President Jorge Videla. The effect of such approving remarks is an important propaganda coup for the juntas.

The juntas naturally did everything they could to cooperate, sensing both their opportunity and the fact that the new wind from Washington requires a new image, if not a new reality. An epidemic of election promises has swept the continent: Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia have pledged a vote by 1980, Uruguay by 1981, and Chile by 1986. Such promises are worth not much more than their weight in newsprint, but Todman greets them as signs of

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"progress." The crowning glory of his trip was President Pinochet's "abolition" of the notorious Chilean secret police agency known as the DINA. Along with the claimed reduction of arrests and torture cases in Chile, the DINA move was hailed by Todman as "very positive."

Was it any such thing? The DINA was only one of several Chilean police forces; almost equally feared are those attached to the Air Force and the Navy, which still exist. The DINA was identified with Pinochet's personal apparatus of dictatorship, and there are indications that its dissolution resulted from a power struggle between the President and other junta members. Repression continues and will go on in Chile under half a dozen other rubrics. There have indeed been fewer official arrests lately but that is due in part to the fact that agencies like the DINA have moved their operations underground. Increasingly they strike anonymously, from covert houses and offices. Their victims are not arrested; they just disappear.

Reports from Washington suggest sharp disagreements within the State Department on the human rights question. One group argues that the United States should keep a cool distance from regimes like Pinochet's, and should add economic sanctions to the military ones already in effect. Another group seems to feel that the basic identity of U.S. interests with those of the right-wing Latin regimes precludes anything more drastic than talking human rights generalities, hoping the juntas will get the cosmetic message. Todman, who clearly reflects the latter category, constantly denies that things are as bad as they are.

The State Department may be bound by diplomatic practice to deny reality, but the rest of us should not be fooled. Promises of elections cannot obscure the fact that the Southern Cone regimes seized power unconstitutionally and are utterly repugnant. And could it not have occurred to Todman that the "improvements" he chose to praise may be something else altogether? As a noted Chilean lawyer wrote in *The Washington Post* last week: "The cumulative effect of continued repression and the increased perfection of state machinery for control and intimidation now allow the Chilean junta to turn gradually to less resounding forms of repression. To applaud this as progress is to praise a dictatorship for accomplishing its own goals."

Hope for the FBI

The nomination of Alabama's Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson Jr. as director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was worth the long wait. President Carter has made a truly distinguished appointment and both he and Judge Johnson fully deserve the accolades they are getting. At last it can be said that there is a good chance that the FBI will be brought under strict controls as the nation's chief law-enforcement (as against law-breaking) agency.

Johnson is an extraordinary man from an unusual background. He is a Republican from Alabama, to begin with, his roots sunk in the rocky soil of Winston County where slavery never quite took hold and which tried to secede from Alabama when Alabama seceded from the Union in 1861. That heritage naturally pitted him against the racist

Bourbon establishment which ran things there.

It is said that Gov. George C. Wallace, who was to become Johnson's sworn enemy, got through law school with the help of Frank Johnson's course notes. If so, that was the last thing Judge Johnson ever did for Wallace and he has spent most of his twenty-two years on the federal bench creatively making life miserable for the Governor and his ilk. He did this by a long series of court decisions based on his iron determination to enforce the Constitution of the United States. That meant pioneering rulings on every aspect of the oppressive racial segregation that was the cruel and unjust style of life in his native state, among others.

Since Wallace and the system he represented resisted the application of the law to their way of running things, Judge Johnson found himself in a quasi-executive position in Alabama, one that he did not seek but was forced into by his strict application of the law. He has even been called "the real Governor of Alabama" because the effect of his decisions against a balky, racist state government has been so widespread in the public life of that state. They have affected schools, transportation, public facilities and the voting rights of the people. Martin Luther King Jr. called him a "man who gives true meaning to the word justice." It is an extraordinarily impressive record.

What can such a man, a strict and even stern enforcer of the law, do with the disorganized, demoralized FBI? There is everything to do, of course. We now know that Hoover's FBI broke most of the laws of the land in its mad ideological crusades, penetrating and corrupting the nation's political life. We also know that this super-bureaucracy was inefficient even in its lawful work.

There is to be a new charter for the FBI, drawn up by Attorney General Bell. That should help, but it will have to be administered scrupulously before it can truly reform. There will have to be a housecleaning and heads must roll; it is unfortunate that on the eve of the Johnson appointment Bell has decided not to prosecute bureau higher-ups in the New York illegal wiretapping cases.

Judge Johnson takes over an organization that became a sinister national joke under Hoover and has been in the doldrums since he died in 1972. This quite heroic man has a heroic job ahead of him. On the record it looks as if he can do it.

Lance, Bent but Not Broke

Is Bert Lance the tip of the iceberg or the iceberg itself? After that voluminous report by the Comptroller of the Currency, the President boldly and happily concluded that everything was in order in the tangled world of his friend Lance's high and low finances. The domestic ship of state could go on with helmsman Lance and not risk the fate of the *Titanic*.

Carter himself is on a sticky spot about Lance. His chief budgeteer and manager has been his personal banker (\$4.9 million in loans to Carter enterprises in the couple of years before his election). If Carter chose a wrong one for the OMB, all his judgments are in question and the hound's tooth would need a brushing. The best the President can do is hope it all blows away, and quickly.

The chances are that the Lance case will not down that

easily. The comptroller's report on his banking habits is too full of ambiguities to dispel the nagging questions. And two Senate committees have announced new hearings to start soon. Lance, in a quite tasteless essay he wrote for *The Miami Herald*, cheerfully reports that his tennis backhand has improved despite the stress and that he means to go on making "the country 'more profitable.'" He is even willing to have his "personal worth . . . diminish" if that will help his country.

That decline in Bert Lance's net worth seems quite unavoidable, and unless you buy the notion that the prosperity of big banks depends on one man's genius, it has little to do with Lance's self-sacrifice in going to work for his government. His personal affairs were quite messy as far back as when the country bank he married into in Calhoun, Ga. suffered a million-dollar embezzlement while he was looking the other way (it was "run like a piggy-bank," a federal prosecutor once cruelly said).

For the rest of us, now being "managed" by Bert Lance's OMB, the question raised by his case centers on banking practices in general. If Lance's is a typical experience, our money is being handled by high-rollers who put their Las Vegas colleagues to shame with their fast shuffles. It is the general practice of American banking that the Senate committees should explore, with Lance as a prime example.

As for the President, he might think up a new definition of "best," as in *Why Not the Best?*—with special reference to candidates who accept free rides in bank corporations' planes.

H.H. Wilson, 1909-1977

Hugh Wilson would want to be remembered as the great teacher he was universally conceded to be. He immensely enjoyed teaching and knew he was good at it. He liked his students (most of them at any rate) and took a keen interest in their development. He was always accessible; I was never at his home when I did not meet students. His lifelong friendships with students were legion; he kept in touch with an incredible number of them. Several times a year he would receive letters from former students saying in effect: "You probably don't remember me but thanks for making me think."

H.H. Wilson was, in fact, more the teacher than the scholar; he was not exactly the academician's academician. John Jay Chapman once said to a scholar busily burrowing in the archives at Harvard: "Any luck? Catch many footnotes today?" Hugh was not obsessed with the importance of catching footnotes. He was not a pedant; the frills and affectations of ostentatious scholarship annoyed him. But he was a scholar and commanded the respect of scholars. An omnivorous reader, he was not a prolific writer. Most of his time, imagination and energy went into his teaching. *Congress: Corruption and Compromise, The Problem of Internal Security in Great Britain and Pressure Group; Commercial Television in Great Britain* are important and scholarly works, as were his articles and reviews, many of which appeared in *The Nation*. But his enduring reputation and wide influence rest on his notable achievements as a teacher.

But he was more than a great teacher. He was a tough-minded, uncompromising, independent—I am tempted to say almost anarchistic—civil libertarian. He had a passion for individual liberty and freedom of the mind. If he can be placed in any category, it would be in the tradition of native American radicalism. He had no partisan ties; he was wary of politics and politicians. Nor did his radicalism derive from ideological convictions. He was fond of quoting someone on ideologies as "fig leaves of the mind." He was and he wasn't a socialist; his sympathies were in that direction but he had no ideological commitments.

I never learned the source of his radicalism but I know it did not stem from family background or early influences. He had one or two instructors at Springfield College, from which he was graduated in 1933, whom he liked and respected as he did Hartley Cross at Clark University where he received his master's degree in economics in 1939. In 1947, he got his Ph.D. in government at Wisconsin and was doubtlessly influenced by the tradition of progressive politics and labor studies that prevailed there. He was devoted to the Lynds, Robert and Helen, and I am sure Bob Lynd would be high on his list of mentors.

But his radicalism had deep and undefinable native roots. Like not a few American radicals, he was quite conservative in some respects. In this fast-changing society it is, paradoxically, often the person most dedicated to the classic American political ideals who seems "radical" to more recent generations made up of newcomers, social climbers and the young—in brief, those not too familiar with Jefferson and Paine, William Lloyd Garrison and Thaddeus Stevens, John Peter Altgeld, Lincoln Steffens and Clarence Darrow, and the never-ending struggle to keep the old American values alive and meaningful.

I remember Hugh's immense enthusiasm for much of John Jay Chapman's writings, which I had urged him to read. In an odd way, he was rather like Chapman. He had the same fierce independence of mind, the same moral passion, the same outspokenness, the same blunt disregard of conventional inhibitions on voicing unpopular views. There were, of course, sharp differences in background and outlook but Hugh read and annotated Chapman for years, quoted him frequently, and liked to read passages to his students. The great Coatesville address, for example, was one of his favorites from Chapman.

Hugh went to Princeton in 1948—an interesting year—and remained there until his retirement last May. The political atmosphere at Princeton then was not what it is today and it is something of a miracle that he managed to stay on and acquire tenure. His emphasis was on vital teaching, not scholarly research, and he did not pull any punches. In those first years he was well aware that his status was somewhat precarious and that some of his views and the frankness with which he expressed them were not applauded in high administration circles. But he managed to survive, and the fact that a university of Princeton's prestige tolerated the presence of such an offbeat political scientist added to his influence off campus. At the same time his standing as "campus radical"

no doubt stimulated student interest in his classes. In any case, he proved to be a leavening influence. Colleagues liked and respected him even if they did not always share his views, and his students, by and large, were devoted to him. Any number of them have become prominent in their professions and, almost without exception, are proud to think of themselves as his protégés.

Hugh's blunt, tough criticism of McCarthy won him a place high on the list of academics the late J. Edgar Hoover detested. The detestation was of course mutual. Others in the academy also criticized Hoover and the FBI but none with more force or clarity or from an earlier date. In the 1950s—how quickly periods date in this country!—even the American Civil Liberties Union had some qualms about defending the then-growing list of political pariahs who, because they were, once were, or might still be, members of the Communist Party or an organization "on the list," were thought not to enjoy the same rights as other citizens. Just a week or so ago we learned what some of us had reason to suspect at the time, that in the years roughly from 1953 to 1959 officials of the ACLU on occasion used the FBI to screen members of its boards and committees and turned over

to it information about some of its members. Happily that lapse has long since been remedied.

But to fill the gap that then existed in the defense of civil liberties, Hugh joined with I.F. Stone, Corliss Lamont, Paul Lehmann, and others, to form the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (now the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee) which was prepared to handle such cases. For years he was a moving spirit in the new organization. He also served, with great diligence and dedication, on the board of consultants of the Louis M. Rabinowitz Foundation for two decades where, as usual, he never hesitated to speak his mind and often rattled the coffee cups.

Hugh Wilson was a kind of latter-day "frontiersman," an early-American type. He represented qualities and values out of the past that nowadays seem somewhat old-fashioned but are in fact timeless. Gruff, sardonic, iconoclastic, blunt and irreverent, he was also, as those who knew him will attest, a kind and understanding person and a loyal and devoted friend. Above all, he was a great teacher, one of the finest of his generation in his field and already a legend at Princeton.

CAREY McWILLIAMS

WILL ARTHUR BURNS STAY PUT?

Carter, the Fed and 'Confidence'

LESTER C. THUROW

In January 1978 President Carter gets to designate a new chairman of the Federal Reserve Board and make his first appointment to that body. The seven members of the Fed are appointed at two-year intervals to fourteen-year terms but, due to early resignations, every one of the seven current members was appointed by either President Nixon or President Ford. There are no Democratic appointees.

Yet, even given this situation, there are hints from the White House that Arthur Burns might be redesignated chairman for another four-year term. The President would still have an opportunity to place his own appointee on the board (David M. Lilly is the member scheduled to go), but this would leave his new member with little or no influence. Even if the new member is also the chairman of the board the question is open as to how much influence he or she will have. Arthur Burns will remain as a member and all of the rest of the members are Republican holdovers.

White House hints about the reappointment of Arthur Burns might be simply good tactics to secure some minimal level of cooperation during a year when nothing can be done about his tenure, but if they are something

more than this they should be a serious cause for concern—especially for Democratic politicians who wish to run for re-election. If Arthur Burns is left in charge of the Federal Reserve Board, they are apt to be running for re-election in an economy with heavy unemployment. And their party will be blamed for the inadequate economic performance since they control Congress and the Presidency.

In terms of economic policy-making, this appointment is probably the most important the President will make. His other economic policy-makers are in the position of making tax and expenditure recommendations that must then be acted upon by Congress. But the Federal Reserve Board is substantially free of this constraint. It acts while others only recommend. Once appointed, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is independent of the President. The President's other advisers are not. As a result, a President cannot count on correcting a mistaken appointment or overrule decisions of the Federal Reserve Board that are not in accordance with his own views. He must pick someone who reflects his views.

The importance of the job has also increased over the past two decades. Partly because of changes in the economy and partly because of changes in economic analysis, monetary policies are almost universally seen as more important vis-à-vis fiscal policies than they were two decades ago. When President Kennedy reappointed William McChesney Martin in the 1960s, monetary policies were seen as secondary to fiscal policies. This is no longer

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true. The chairmanship of the Federal Reserve Board is not now a job that can be awarded cosmetically, as a plum designed to maintain "business confidence."

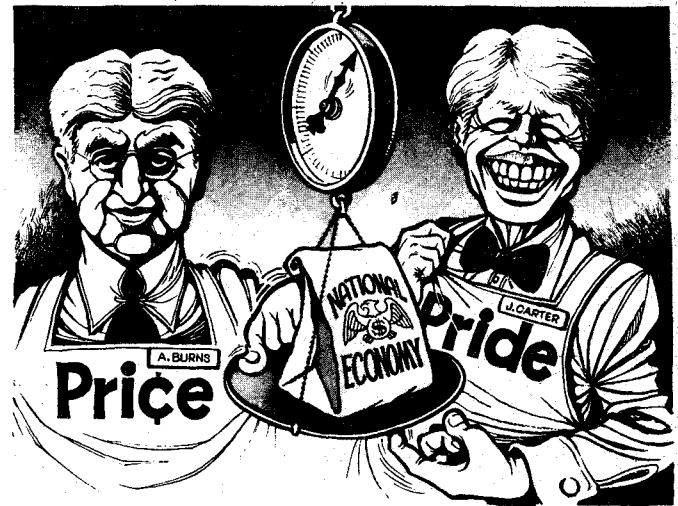
If you subscribe to the extreme versions of monetary economics, control over the money supply is the only economic instrument that counts; all the rest of macro-economic policy-making is a waste of time. While most economists do not hold to this harsh position, there is also no doubt that the Federal Reserve Board can, if it wants to, substantially offset other economic policies. If a Democratic President wants to put his stamp on the economy by 1980, he will need the active support of the Federal Reserve System. To get active support a chairman must be chosen who reflects the views of the President and the majority of Congress.

The importance of a compatible chairman can be seen by looking at the two very different types of inputs that go into economic policy-making. The first, but not most important, ingredient is technical economic analysis. Given that some economic policy might be put in place, whose income will rise and whose income will fall? When one sums these gains and losses, does economic activity rise or fall in the aggregate? Unfortunately, in real-world economic policy-making there are no policies so good that everyone's income rises with no offsetting losses and, conversely, there are almost no policies so bad that everyone's income falls with no offsetting income gains. In the aggregate, gains may exceed losses or losses may exceed gains, but there is always an array of gainers and losers. The technical job of the economist is to present the policy-maker with the best possible estimates of the distribution of gains and losses and their aggregate magnitudes.

Given the inevitable array of income gains and losses in any policy change, the second, and most important, ingredient in economic decision-making is an ethical or moral evaluation of whose income *ought* to rise and whose income *ought* to fall. In a democracy politicians are elected to make these value judgments. This power may be delegated, but it should reflect society's ethical views as they are expressed at the polls.

It is this inevitable ethical-judgmental dimension of economic policy-making that makes the appointment of a new chairman of the Federal Reserve Board such an important matter. The question is not whether Arthur Burns is a good technical economist but whether he reflects the ethical views of the President and the majority of Congress on whose income *ought* to go up and whose income *ought* to go down. If he does, he ought to be reappointed; if he does not, he ought not to be reappointed.

But if Dr. Burns is reappointed, the Democratic Party must face up to the fact that it has nominated and elected a President who does not share the value judgments upon which the Democratic Party is based. Arthur Burns, it should be remembered, is not an apolitical Republican in the mold of Martin, the previous chairman. Dr. Burns was chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Eisenhower, he was the principal economic adviser to Vice President Nixon when he ran for office in 1960 and 1968, he was in the Nixon Cabinet as Counselor to the President, and he was appointed to the chairman-



Haynie, The Courier-Journal (Louisville)

ship of the Federal Reserve Board by President Nixon in 1970. If that sequence of jobs does not indicate a deeply committed conservative Republican, then nothing does.

If one needed any more information as to the value judgments of Dr. Burns on how society should be shaped, one need only examine his pronouncements opposing most of the Democratic legislation of the last twenty years. Recent examples include urging a more business-oriented tax reform proposal, advocating public employment at less than the minimum wage, opposing all increases in the minimum wage, etc.

The most vivid indication of his stewardship and value judgments occurred in the 1974-75 recession. This country's real GNP started to fall in the first quarter of 1974. Yet the Federal Reserve Board continued to tighten credit during 1974 until it created the famous credit crunch of late 1974. As a result of this process, the economy suffered one of the sharpest economic declines in its history by the end of 1974 and the beginning of 1975. Unemployment rose to 9 percent and 8½ million people were unemployed.

All of this was done in the name of stopping inflation, but no one at the Fed was ever able to explain how the 1974 credit crunch was going to break the OPEC cartel and lower the price of energy, how it was going to improve the weather and lower the price of food, or how it was going to reverse the effects of a dollar depreciation—the three principal causes of the acceleration in inflation.

As the shock of these three factors wore off, the rate of inflation fell, but this had more to do with the passage of time than it did with the extra recessionary pressures created by the Fed in the last half of 1974. Since the real rate of growth was already negative, whatever anti-inflation benefits were going to accrue from a recession were already accruing. To induce a recession within a recession with the credit crunch of 1974 was simply a purposeless exercise which wasted real economic resources while completely disregarding the interests of those who actually suffer unemployment.

The basic question is, "Do we want a Federal Reserve System that will systematically produce unemployment

whenever troubles appear in the economy?" The Fed's current tightenings of monetary policies in the face of a 7 percent unemployment rate are merely indications that nothing was learned at the Fed in the unfortunate depression of 1974-75. Inflationary problems certainly exist, but they cannot be cured by raising the unemployment rate, and even if they could be cured in such a manner, such a cure has unacceptable social consequences. During the Presidential election campaign President Carter said that he was tired of hearing those who never suffer from unemployment preaching the anti-inflationary virtues of unemployment for someone other than themselves. In January the President will have a good opportunity to get rid of one of the preachers of this point of view.

But what about "business confidence"? As the infighting over the selection of a new chairman builds up, we will undoubtedly be told that even though Dr. Burns may not reflect the value judgments of the President and the Congress, he is necessary to maintain "business confidence." Initially we should remember that "business

confidence" in President Ford and Dr. Burns did not stop the economy in 1974-75 from falling into its greatest recession since the Great Depression. Likewise, "business confidence" won't get us back to prosperity.

As President Ford's former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Alan Greenspan, points out in a recent article in *The Economist*, "business confidence" is not a matter of mass psychology or liking or disliking individual policy-makers but a matter of rational decision-making as to whether investments are, or are not, profitable. If investment is profitable, it will be made, no matter how little policy-makers are liked; if investment is unprofitable, it will not be made, no matter how much policy-makers are liked.

In the end, the President and the Congress must pick a new chairman of the Federal Reserve System who reflects the value judgments of the majority who elected them. On these grounds, Dr. Burns would hardly seem to qualify for reappointment by a Democratic President. □

LABOR'S PAINS IN 1977

The AFL-CIO's Growing Troubles

B.J. WIDICK

To celebrate Labor Day in 1977 takes more than the usual self-serving and self-deceiving pronouncements in union circles. For neither nostalgia about gains in the past, nor the pretense that all is going well, nor the illusion that George Meany is the greatest gift to working-class leadership since Eugene V. Debs can diminish the pressures for a painful reassessment of the status of labor among a growing segment of the union movement.

It was the year when anti-union forces, after their side lost a national election, managed to clobber labor in a Democratic-controlled Congress and with a Democratic administration in power. By outworking and outsmarting George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and his staff lobbyists, these reactionary forces destroyed the AFL-CIO's strategy. In the process they deflated the notion that Meany possesses the sharpest political skill and heaviest clout in Washington.

As many of his victims know, Meany has been effective in the bureaucratic infighting of the past. On the larger issues of national and world import, however, his abilities to influence their outcome seem to be in a steep decline. The AFL-CIO strategy of making the situs picketing bill its first priority in the 1977 Congress was a blunder. It exposed labor on its weakest flank—something for the building trades unions. Neither labor's ranks

nor most labor leaders caught fire on that issue. The consequence was a stinging defeat for an overconfident labor lobby.

On a much more central issue, one that labor has tried to win for a quarter-century, the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, Meany ran into such opposition that he had to put that long-standing goal on a back burner. Down went his second priority along with the vast sums spent to try to pass the repealer.

Labor's public posture on these issues was further injured by the initial response of the AFL-CIO leadership to these defeats, caused in part by its own obtuse political sense. The snorts, snarls and sneers about "Little Jimmy" in the White House, and the yelling and cursing at an Oval Office conference were, to say the least, counterproductive. The labor leaders at that session forgot whom they had to deal with. A Baptist President did not take kindly to these rough responses. They failed to win any votes in Congress either, where many new members have little knowledge of or interest in unions.

After a while, cooler heads prevailed, and much time was spent repairing the self-inflicted damage in relations with the White House. The result was that the AFL-CIO, with the cooperation of the United Auto Workers, extracted two promises from the Carter administration. The crucial agreement was a promise of endorsement by Carter of legislation to reform the structure, operations and penalties and administration of the National Labor Relations Board.

The NLRB has been overloaded with cases—some 20,000 recently pending. The delays due to archaic rules, limited manpower, cumbersome operational procedures

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and the lack of meaningful penalties on recalcitrant employers have patently worked against union interests, thereby violating the law's basic intent. The current Congressional hearings on the giant textile company, J.P. Stevens, and its notorious ability to avoid collective bargaining by paying minor penalties, overusing the courts, and employing every kind of delaying action illustrate labor's case for redress.

The other issue on which the Carter administration at least bent a little (while the AFL-CIO retreated a lot) was on the matter of a new minimum wage law. Setting the minimum at \$2.65 an hour has administration support, but this is far below what the AFL-CIO declared necessary. While the minimum wage fight has been controversial, debate over it has been mild compared to the stormy battles lying ahead on NLRB reforms. The anti-union coalition tasted sweet victory this spring. Now it is even better organized, heavily financed, and has a generally favorable national press back of it. Unless labor can mobilize a broad counter-coalition, the likelihood of NLRB reform is dim. Here, the arrogance of the AFL-CIO in dealing with other groups is not a small negative factor.

The tensions between unions and business on the NLRB question are such that they must blow up the widely heralded "conference committee." This group, created by John Dunlop, former Secretary of Labor, brought together Big Business and Big Labor leaders in regular meetings on policy issues. Half of the management on the committee represent strong anti-union companies such as Du Pont, Mobil, Citicorp and Sears. They are not about to repudiate the policies of the National Action or National Right to Work committees, their coalition organizations which, naturally, oppose serious reform of the NLRB.

There are other difficulties. The utter incapacity of the Meany leadership to face up to the realities of its own weak position, or to grasp the impact of the vast changes in population and work-force composition makes a fresh approach to the public and to America's working people most unlikely. Some union leaders recognize the problems. The gap between the union hierarchy and the young men and women workers and the minorities was assessed recently by Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers Union, when he spoke about a subject considered untouchable at AFL-CIO headquarters, namely the poor image of George Meany.

"He really has a very negative image among our guys," Fraser said, "It's incredible to them that a guy 83 years old is leading the work force. There comes a time in every guy's life when he ought to get out, and that's especially true in the labor movement where there's no political discipline, no boss to tell you to go."

The UAW president is getting a strong reaction against Meany in his discussions with leaders and ranks on the proposal for the UAW to re-enter the AFL-CIO. Meany's insistence on retaining his power and position aren't helping Fraser, but no one expects Meany to give anything up just because labor unity might be at stake.

Within the AFL-CIO there are dissidents making the



"What Goes Up Must Come Down, You Know."

same point but in stronger terms. William Winpisinger, president of the Machinists union, recently told his members that labor's biggest handicap is a public image that puts unions "just behind Richard Nixon and just in front of used car salesmen." He added, "I put the blame for that right on George Meany's doorstep, and I suggest to you that I'll probably be a more outspoken Meany critic as times goes on, and I'm going to continue to criticize in every constructive way until he takes seriously the responsibility of refurbishing the image of the American movement or gets out of office."

This is near treason in the Meany domain. Furthermore, any doubts about the infallibility of Meany, seldom in question since the days of Walter Reuther's challenging heresies, are seen as a threat to the job security of Meany's Old Guard. By now his entourage has convinced itself, if not Meany, that he is an historical figure of the stature of Eugene Debs. Meany did get a Eugene V. Debs award from the right-wing "Social Democrats USA." In his remarks accepting the award from Bayard Rustin, Meany delivered a tolerant lecture in the tone of a superior admonishing Debs for his mistakes.

The mutual admiration among the labor hierarchy's chosen few fail to impress many union leaders; as collective bargainers and organizers, they have to focus on larger issues than an historical farce. Knowledgeable union leaders—and there are many of them coming up—know that unions represent a much smaller proportion of the work force than at the time of the AFL-CIO merger. The so-called Sunbelt may or may not be the economic wave of the future, but its growth presents a formidable challenge to unions.

As if the J.P. Stevens struggle were not enough of a daily reminder, the unions have other recent examples to reflect on. It took the full clout of the UAW, including the threat of a selective national strike at General Motors, to force that company to retreat from an open-shop campaign in its new Southern plants. Just as the Communications Workers of America was celebrating its new and better contract won at AT&T without a strike, the company threw cold water on the jubilation of pointedly releasing its plans for future employment: more in the Sunbelt, less in the highly organized Northern states. Actually, only eight of the fifty states currently have a high degree of unionization.

As multinational capitalism grows in size and power and domestic oligopolies flourish, unions face the possibility of becoming as peripheral a force in this country as was the AFL in the 1920s. The kinds of problems unions have with multinational corporations were spotlighted in Charles Craypo's brilliant analysis in the October 1975 *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, where he wrote on how Litton Industries took on the UAW and other important unions with considerable success. In this period of industrial giants, huge conglomerates and chain stores, most unions still operate with policies as outmoded as those of a corner grocery store trying to compete with the huge chains. Glenn Watts, president of the Communications Workers, put the issue squarely when he stated that unions with less than 750,000 members were functioning below a "break-even point." His figure may be high but the judgment is sound.

Many unions still function as competitors with one another, rather than combining against an employer, and the voting record in NLRB-conducted elections reflects the poor results of such an antiquated policy. For the AFL-CIO, this array of small unions, jealous of their status and jurisdictions, and resembling a set of feudal baronies, perpetuates a structure which gives Meany the advantages of a powerful monarch. Any cost-benefit analysis would indicate how debilitating and inefficient such a system is. Eight different unions in the maritime industry, plagued with bitter battles between the National Maritime Union and Paul Hall's Seafarers' International Union offer a case in point.

The disorder in labor's house is most unfortunately illustrated by the situation in the United Mine Workers Union. At a time when coal is more important to the nation than at any time since it was called "King Coal," the UMW is floundering, its leadership split, wildcat strikes so prevalent that they amount to anarchy. The chances of a national strike in the coal fields this winter are great. The resulting chaos could easily be exploited to intensify hostility to labor's program in Congress and further damage labor's reputation.

The labor movement in America has another rotting albatross around its neck, the scandal-ridden Teamsters union. Until the Hoffa murder is solved, and until the huge truck drivers' pension funds no longer seem to be hunting grounds for mobsters and their shady friends, the image of labor will remain tarnished to most people.

What puzzles most labor leaders is why the labor "movement" has such a reputation. The AFL-CIO recently published poll results showing that most Americans approve the unions as necessary for the working man. But this doesn't translate into an endorsement of Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters, or of George Meany. Labor leaders are alone in seeing themselves and their union as one and the same thing. The coming generation of labor leaders know better and therefore act differently.

Crimes committed in the name of unionism are no longer likely to get the kind of concealment once provided by calling any action against a corrupt labor leader an "anti-union" attack. More labor leaders are beginning

to encourage the Department of Labor to look into the scandals within some unions. Honest labor leaders and good unions have nothing to fear from a look at their books. The new Secretary of Labor, Ray Marshall, has indicated a willingness to tackle certain practices in the Teamsters union, and he need fear no backlash from other unions, as in the past.

If American labor is having problems of isolation and negative image at home, its influence is still large here compared to its declining influence abroad as the result of disastrous AFL-CIO policies. The AFL-CIO stands alone in its current demand that the United States in effect destroy the International Labor Organization by pulling out of it, thus leaving a pro-Arab and Soviet bloc to run it. Having painted himself into a corner on this issue over the years, Meany has no choice, for his political purposes, but to insist on a pullout commitment he got from the Ford administration. Neither European labor nor the UAW here, nor the governments of the West want this to happen, but Meany is adamant, and the Carter administration is divided on the question.

When Meany was able to get Irving Brown, his European agent, appointed as labor representative to the ILO, European labor knew that his abrasive tactics and cold-war intransigence would lose friends and alienate people. Efforts to compromise the so-called "PLO question" collapsed when many African delegates failed to take Brown or other Americans seriously. Their abstention gave a victory to the Arab and Russian bloc; the PLO won admission to the ILO as observers. Meany thus managed to fulfill his own prophecy. His enemies were winning.

Meany had done this once before. When the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions refused to accept his dictates on policy—there are no neutrals in the cold war, according to Meany—the AFL-CIO pulled out of the ICFTU. Now the specter of Eurocommunism haunts the Meany forces. Developments within political parties in Europe, splits in the Communist Parties—all that is seen as just another Russian trick manipulated by Brezhnev. So we are informed by Jay Lovestone in the *Free Trade Union News*. While many AFL-CIO and UAW leaders want to rejoin the ICFTU, and work to change it from within, Meany prefers uncontaminated isolation.

As a bulwark of the still strong cold-war forces in this nation, Meany represents more than his position as president of the AFL-CIO. He has strong political allies in the government, the military and industry. Hence his power on this issue. In all the years when the AFL-CIO foreign affairs department functioned as a branch of the U.S. Government, he collected some chips which he is now cashing.

The last time Meany's domination of the AFL-CIO hierarchy was under fire from critics within and outside the labor movement, the reaction of the AFL-CIO offered a clue to the future course of that organization. Reflecting their own set of values, the delegates voted to raise Meany's pay from \$70,000 to \$90,000 a year, and left his power undiminished. The AFL-CIO continued its cold-war policies, and Meany kept blundering in na-

tional elections until some of his unions broke with his "party line." Everyone remembers Meany's stubborn hostility toward Senator McGovern in 1972 and a posture somewhat short of sure-footedness in relation to Carter last year. Relations with unions abroad are mainly ceremonial. Neither the British nor German unionists, socialist in philosophy and facing the problems of having real power, take kindly to the "pragmatic" and cold-war outlook of George Meany. In three major countries (Canada, West Germany and Sweden) manufacturing wages and fringe benefits are higher than in America and their economies are not as rich. In England, the coal miners helped to bring down the Heath government. Labor returned to power and abolished their equivalent of Taft-Hartley, the Industrial Relations Act. Events abroad have lately put a big dent in the theory of the "superior-

ity" of the American labor movement under the leadership of George Meany.

In this broad framework, the December convention of the AFL-CIO assumes considerable importance. Will the AFL-CIO repeat its mistakes of the past? Will the Meany policies and leadership go unchallenged again? Are the dissidents strong enough to make their voices heard and their influence felt? If the answers to these questions are negative and the convention simply rubber-stamps Meany and his policies one more time, it will be laying the groundwork for a revolt against a leadership that will be seen as increasingly out of touch with the real concerns of American labor. The coming revolt may not be radical, in the old-fashioned sense, but it will come from leaders of major unions and it will have strong support from the rank and file. □

The UAW's Doug Fraser Looks Ahead

The Nation submitted the following questions to Douglas Fraser, elected president of the United Auto Workers Union this year. The UAW is the second largest union in this country and faces some of the most difficult problems in the industrial organization of the American economy.

Q. About two years ago, the UAW had more than 300,000 members out of work and unemployment nationwide was close to 9 percent. Unemployment is still very high but we hear less about it now. Why is that?

A. There are a number of reasons for this and they concern the UAW greatly. Unemployment has declined from its peak during the recession early in 1975. But we still have a jobless rate officially of close to 7 percent compared to only 3.9 percent when Richard Nixon took office in 1969.

The real unemployment figures are much higher, of course. Because we only count those actively seeking work and ignore the millions who have become so discouraged they've given up, the official rate is definitely understated. Right now there are close to 9 million people out of work in this country and that's an outrage.

Other democratic countries do far better. In Sweden, it's a national crisis when unemployment goes up to 1.6 percent. Japan's jobless rate last year was only 2 percent. I think West Germany's was about 3.6. We read all about the problems of the British economy, yet their rate is lower than ours. I'm concerned that we're slipping in this country into a dangerous mindset—one that says that we really have full employment when we get the jobless rate down to 5 or 6 percent. That's totally unacceptable to me.

Harry Truman set goals and timetables to achieve the rate of 2.9 percent in his administration. After eight years of the Eisenhower administration during which unemployment rose, Kennedy reduced the rate to 3.5 percent. We may face different economic problems today, but it's still possible to achieve a major reduction if the President and the Congress make that a priority.

Inflation is a real concern, too, and obviously any full employment policy must address inflation if it's to be successful. Who gets hurt by inflation? The workers and the poor. Henry Ford doesn't suffer on his paycheck—I think it was about \$970,000 last year, so he'll get by. The public has got to be convinced that unemployment is inflationary in itself. We're losing close to \$18 billion for every percentage point of unemployment in terms of lost taxes and payouts for unemployment, welfare and food stamps. The federal budget would have had a surplus during five of the last eight years if unemployment had remained at the rate it was when Nixon came in.

I think President Carter has made some progress on the jobs issue, but it's nowhere near enough. There are millions of people who want jobs and can't find them. This society is going to be torn apart in the years ahead if we don't meet the problem. When these teen-agers who've never been able to find a job become adults, the problem will no longer be a problem. It will be a crisis.

Q. You say the four-day workweek is inevitable in the auto industry. What do you mean by that?

A. There's really nothing sacred about the five-day, forty-hour workweek, any more than there was about the six-day workweek that used to be standard, or the seven-day workweek. I remember the old line: "If you don't come in on Sunday, don't come in on Monday." Moving to a reduced workweek is going to become a necessity in order to create enough new employment opportunities in coming years. It also will give workers the opportunity for more leisure time to spend with their families.

We're going to hear a lot of wailing and see a lot of hand-wringing by the bosses and the coupon clippers. But the four-day week is inevitable—the only question is how fast we can achieve it. Last year the UAW pioneered a new reduced work-time program at Ford and then at Chrysler and G.M. We won similar gains at the agricultural implement companies. These programs are clearly a solid step in the direction of a four-day week.

These plans make it possible for the capital equipment

to be utilized fully, I might add. We're able to make this progress because of the tremendous gains in productivity we've achieved. In the Big 3 auto makers alone, output of cars and trucks between 1957 and 1976 increased 62.1 percent, while the number of production workers rose only 7.7 percent. Those workers deserve their share of the gains that come from that increased productivity.

Down the road a few years, the four-day week is going to be as American as apple pie.

Q. The UAW has been a pioneer for many years in winning new wage and benefit gains at the bargaining table. Some critics have charged that in making those economic gains, the union has neglected in-plant working conditions, saying they haven't improved much over the years. Are they right?

A. We're proud of our role as the pace setter on many of the labor movement's gains over the years. The UAW has had extremely innovative leadership under Walter Reuther and Leonard Woodcock. And we've got a militant, committed rank and file that's been vital to the progress we've made.

Working conditions today are better than they were back when I worked as a metal finisher in Detroit for DeSoto. But I think we still have a long way to go. The plants are still too noisy. Some of them are too dirty. The foundries are too hot. The assembly line is relentless. Our members earn their pay and more, there's no question about that.

I intend to put tremendous emphasis on health and safety issues—that's going to be a top priority. The number of new and harmful chemicals being introduced into the plants has increased significantly, for example, and we've been taking steps to deal with this.

Q. Bert Lance, Stu Eizenstat and Charles Schulz have proposed to President Carter that the safety regulations enforced by the Occupational Safety and Health

Administration (OSHA) be totally eliminated. What's your reaction?

A. I'm totally opposed to it and I've informed President Carter that the UAW will fight any attempt to replace safety regulations with schemes like raising workers' compensation costs for employers. People tend to forget that OSHA's first six years occurred under Republican administrations that had little interest in the health and safety of American workers. Today, under Eula Bingham, OSHA seems to be shaping up.

Sometimes I wish we could take some bankers, editorial writers and economists and have them spend a day with one of the workers who was exposed to kepone in Hopewell, Va. or somebody at the J.P. Stevens plant in Roanoke Rapids who has brown lung disease. They look at numbers all day and worry about cost-effectiveness and profits, but there's no way to put a price tag on the human suffering resulting from occupational disease and injury. And the way to stop it is to have an agency with trained experts—enough of them to do the job—that has the power to force companies to clean up the work place. If anything, the OSHA regulations need to be toughened and enforced with a stronger hand.

Q. Since the UAW was one of the very first unions to back Carter in last year's primaries, just how satisfied are you with the performance of the Carter administration so far?

A. Well, the record is mixed, but on a number of issues I think President Carter has done quite well, such as labor law reform, Social Security financing, the Panama Canal agreement, undocumented workers, much of the energy package and welfare reform. He's obviously a very capable, compassionate leader. And I keep thinking what we'd be facing if Gerald Ford had been elected last fall.

Two central elements of Carter's campaign this time



Rosen, Albany Times-Union (New York)

"The Compacts Are Coming! The Compacts Are Coming!"

last year were full employment and national health security. The key to whether or not he is able to keep the support which elected him rests with what he does on those issues, I think.

At this point, not enough has been done to deal with unemployment, although the public works jobs program and the youth employment program both were good initial steps that must be built on. The President told the UAW convention last May that early next year he would present a national health program. If he holds to the principles he believed in when he spoke to the black medical students association on Good Friday last year, then I'm confident we'll support him strongly.

Q. Labor law reform is an issue you and President Carter seem to agree on, yet enormous obstacles face your union and others when it comes to organizing, particularly in the South. The UAW won a major victory recently at one of General Motors' unorganized plants there. What will the UAW and other unions be doing in coming months to organize in the South?

A. First, we're devoting a great deal of energy to supporting the labor law reform proposals in the Congress. Big business and its front groups like the National Right to Work Committee are going to pull out all the stops to see that this legislation is defeated. Time after time, the National Labor Relations Act has been used to frustrate, delay and prevent workers from being able to democratically choose union representation and to have the protection of a union contract. What we are asking for is human rights for workers—for workers to have a fair chance to choose whether or not they want a union. If we get that, then it's up to us in the labor movement to perform in such a way that workers do want us to represent them.

The South is particularly difficult to organize in, but the UAW and other unions will be devoting resources to Southern organizing in the months ahead. Why should there be a double standard—one in which a company like General Motors chooses to pay a nonunion worker in Louisiana \$2 an hour less than a UAW member in Indiana for exactly the same work? We're going to succeed in organizing the South because Southern workers are going to demand the same kind of equity and justice as their Northern counterparts. Earlier this year those Louisiana G.M. workers won a contract that gave them an immediate weekly increase averaging \$86, in addition to seniority protection and a host of other improvements.

Q. You have mentioned human rights for workers. What do you think of President Carter's emphasis on human rights in foreign policy? Is he endangering the gains made through détente?

A. I recall several years ago when Dr. (Andrei) Sakharov received the Norman Thomas Award and talked in his speech about détente. His point was that détente held out great promise in limiting the arms race and improving trade, but he also noted that "external" détente tragically was not accomplished by "internal" and "human" détente. I think President Carter has done well by turning attention to the need for that internal and human détente, although I hope that emphasis won't be carried to the point where it stymies external détente.

The labor movement has been a regressive force gen-

erally on foreign policy issues and I hope we can change that. It's crucial that we improve our relationships with the Soviet Union and China. In fact, Leonard Woodcock is over in Peking right now trying to do that.

Q. There are increasing signs that Eurocommunism will grow in strength in France and Italy. Does this concern you?

A. The key is whether or not the particular form of government is what the people want and what the people choose democratically. It's important to remember that we don't live in a world in which communism is a monolithic force, as some of the old cold warriors still believe.

Q. The UAW has been a leader in pushing for pro-environment legislation over the years. Yet in the last few months critics have blasted the union for being "in bed with the companies" on questions of auto emissions, fuel efficiency and safety standards. How do you respond?

A. That's just not true. We have been outspoken in our criticism of the industry's positions in those areas. Take the issue of air bags and passive restraint devices, for example. The UAW has strongly supported mandatory passive restraints, such as air bags, in all new cars. We think it will save thousands of lives and reduce injuries tremendously. The companies are in disagreement with that position.

On fuel efficiency, our union gave full support and the companies opposed legislation passed in 1975 that would require the auto makers to improve mileage performance beginning with a fleet average of 16 miles per gallon this year and going up to 27.5 in 1985. Just a few weeks ago in the House, we backed a doubling of the fines the industry will have to pay if it fails to meet the mileage standards. And we supported the legislation that would make the "gas guzzler" extinct almost immediately.

On both the fuel efficiency penalties and the gas guzzler tax, the industry has taken positions far different from ours. On emissions, the industry moved from their reactionary position and eventually accepted the standards the UAW had arrived at independently after detailed discussions with outside consultants.

The legislation passed by the Congress was reasonable, even though the Big 3 seem to disagree. We hope they will never again come to the Congress seeking delays of the clean air standards. If they do, the UAW will oppose them. I hope that the labor movement and the environmentalists can move closer together. We need to listen more closely to them and they need to understand the pressures that working people face.

Q. Imports of foreign cars have taken close to 20 percent of the market in the United States this year. Some segments of the trade union movement have faced similar threats to the jobs of their members by urging trade restrictions. What's the UAW's position on trade questions?

A. We believe in a policy of fair trade and oppose restrictive quota systems. The auto industry could compete successfully against foreign imports if it was willing to build the kind of stylish small car the American people have shown they want. The Big 3 haven't tried because they make a bigger profit margin on a larger car. I think Americans possess the ingenuity to build a car that can compete successfully with the Rabbit and the Toyota.

That's the answer, rather than erecting an artificial wall that would protect companies like General Motors—which earned more than \$2 billion in the first six months this year—from the “dangers” of foreign competition.

Q. Since the death seven years ago of Walter Reuther, some say the UAW has slowly become more conservative—that it has retreated from the forefront of social issues. Is there any truth to that?

A. We face different issues and live in a different world today than seven years ago, or seventeen years ago, for that matter. Walter was a brilliant leader who put the full power of the UAW behind virtually every important progressive movement this country experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. Leonard Woodcock's first act as UAW president after Walter was killed was to join Mrs. Coretta King and Ralph Abernathy in Atlanta for a march against repression. His second was to take on General Motors in a sixty-seven-day strike by 400,000 UAW members. That's hardly conservatism.

We're facing many difficult issues today and I fully intend to carry on the militancy our union has practiced on social questions. We've got to renew the fight to stamp out discrimination, we've got to join hands with the poor and fight their fight as our fight, we've got to put resources behind efforts of women to achieve justice.

The UAW will be there when push comes to shove on these issues and many more, I'll guarantee you that.

Q. For some time, there's been a fairly strained relationship generally between intellectuals in this society and the labor movement. Do you see any signs that gap will narrow in the years ahead?

A. I hope it does, because there's little to be gained from isolation. Academics and workers can learn a great deal from each other if the circumstances are right. I think this will be even more true in the future, because of the increasingly complex society we live in. The nature of the corporation today, for example, is far different than forty years ago, with the rise of the multinationals. The labor movement needs the best thinking available on the consequences of such a change.

Politics is an inexact science at best, but lately I have been meeting with some of the top political scientists from the University of Pennsylvania, Columbia, Duke and others. We've been talking about reforms in the electoral process—something that would be of tremendous benefit to the labor movement. I hope we'll see an improved relationship with the intellectual community—students as well as scholars.

Q. You've always admired the young militants in the early, formative period of the UAW and, in fact, were considered one yourself as a young trade unionist in the 1940s. Today, many of the top UAW leaders who built the union are nearing retirement. What are you doing to see that a new generation of workers can move into leadership?

A. That's probably the biggest challenge I face as UAW president. There is incredible talent in our union and the task will be to find those people and enable them to move into leadership positions. We're not like a corporation, where a few people at the top can just tap bright young people and move them into power. The UAW is a democratic institution and people have to

rise through the political process, from the local on up. I'm confident that there will be no shortage of well-qualified trade unionists to take up the fight when my generation of leaders retires.

Q. As you know from your visits abroad, the United States is the only major industrial democracy without a national health insurance program. Health security has been a major goal of the UAW and the labor movement for years. Do you think it will be achieved and, if so, when?

A. Well, I think we're closer to it than we have been in the past. President Carter is putting his proposal together now and has pledged to offer it early next year.

There is tremendous public support for national health security. Even the Business Roundtable, a corporate group, took a poll that found a sizable majority in favor of it. I think the chance of passage in the Congress is good. Health care ought to be a right for everyone, not a privilege reserved for those who can afford it. Even those who have private insurance frequently find the skyrocketing costs of medical and hospital care devastating.

Medical care costs have been rising about 50 percent faster than all other items in the Consumer Price Index. We're spending about \$600 per person each year on health care, yet only about a quarter of that is paid for by private insurance. The assembly line worker at Chrysler this year is paying about 85¢ an hour for Blue Cross-Blue Shield. That's \$1,767.60 a year.

A national health security system offers the best hope we have for cost containment. A universal, comprehensive and mandatory program would finally bring skyrocketing health costs under control.

Q. You live in downtown Detroit and have personally lived through two devastating riots there in your lifetime. You know, of course, about the looting that occurred during the New York City blackout. What kind of lessons can we draw from these occurrences?

A. The country desperately needs a coherent urban policy. I think that has to be rooted in an expanded jobs program for the cities. Detroit has made some real progress in recent years. It's got a new life to it—people are coming back downtown. The mood has become more optimistic, I think. But there is still a great deal to be done. Housing, for example, is a crucial need. Industry needs to be kept from abandoning the cities for the lure of the suburbs. We've got to develop tougher approaches to the crime problem, too.

Liberals have abandoned the crime issue to the hard-line conservatives. We've got to face up to the fact that our cities aren't going to survive if we can't make them reasonably safe.

I don't think we can tolerate situations such as the looting that went on in New York, particularly for those with jobs who were arrested. I don't think you have to abandon a strong commitment to civil liberties and to dealing with root causes of crime when you stand up and say we have to improve the law enforcement.

Q. The UAW supported the development of the B-1 bomber. Yet President Carter decided not to proceed with the production of it. What was your reaction? And were UAW jobs the main reason for the union's support of this weapons system?

A. For years, the UAW has been saying that the time has come to beat the swords into plowshares. Obviously, world peace is an elusive goal difficult to achieve and defense is a component of that struggle.

One must hope President Carter made the right decision. Our concern at this point is for the thousands of workers who one day were told they were crucial to the country's defense and the next day dumped on the street. We have to develop a policy in this country built around the idea that when government makes a decision on the basis of the broad public good, workers should not bear the entire burden of such a decision. Legislation is needed in this area—it would provide assistance for those affected by such decisions.

The workers at Rockwell International who would have built the B-1 have tremendous talent that could be used to modernize our obsolete transportation system or to build millions of new units of low-cost housing or develop safer, pollution-free manufacturing methods or create alternative energy sources such as solar heating devices. Instead, those workers are in the unemployment lines. Then they pick up the papers and read that top executives, like Willard Rockwell, sold stock in the company ten days before the B-1 decision for \$1.2 million.



Wetzel

"Why, of Course I Believe Congress Should Control the Economy."

Q. Within your union, the membership is debating whether or not the UAW should reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO. Do you think reaffiliation would strengthen the labor movement? Would Meany's retirement help?

A. I think reaffiliation would definitely strengthen the labor movement. We need a single national trade union center in this country, particularly now when working people are facing so much opposition from the Right.

The extent of support for reaffiliation still remains unclear within our union and I honestly don't know what

the outcome of our internal debate will be. If we do rejoin the AFL-CIO, we will continue to insist upon the right to take our own positions on economic, social and political issues.

I've said before that I'm in favor of mandatory retirement for top union officials. There may be good arguments in many occupations for not having mandatory retirement, but in the labor movement I think too many leaders have stayed on far beyond their time. I think Meany should retire, but I don't anticipate that will happen during the period we are discussing reaffiliation.

Q. President Carter won election last November when only about 27 percent of the eligible voters cast ballots for him. You've expressed concern, as have other union leaders, about the lack of mass participation in the political process of this country. What are you doing about it?

A. I'm afraid we have a situation today in which the largest political party in the United States is the party of nonvoters. We need to make a number of structural reforms in the electoral process and we need substantive changes in our society that give a share of the American dream to those who have little stake in it now.

Some of the reforms we have been discussing include universal voter registration, expanded public financing of elections, expanded access to broadcast media for candidates, direct election of the President and the creation of an electoral season. In addition, it's crucial that we take steps to strengthen the political parties. We've experienced a real erosion over the years in the party system and steps must be taken to revitalize the parties.

I think we have far too many primaries right now and I'd like to see a major reduction at the same time that we develop a party structure based around a coherent political program.

Q. Labor leaders rank low in the public opinion poll these days. How do you account for it and what can labor do about it?

A. I've seen some polls lately that rank labor leaders just above car salesmen. There's a tendency to blame others for this, but I think we have to take the responsibility ourselves.

Take the corruption issue. The Harris poll a few months ago showed that about 64 percent surveyed agreed that many union leaders have ties with racketeers and organized crime. Only 13 percent disagreed with that. It's unfair to say "many" labor leaders are guilty here, but certainly enough are to cause problems for the entire labor movement. I think if the labor movement refuses to clean its own house, then we shouldn't cry and we shouldn't resist when the government comes in and does it for us.

The other thing I think we have to do is to be in the vanguard of the struggle for social change—the effort to improve the quality of life for all the American people. We've got to stand up on the issues of the day that not only benefit unions but that benefit everyone.

Q. You've said the labor movement itself is to blame for many of its problems, such as those on Capitol Hill this year. Do you see anti-labor forces—groups like the National Right to Work Committee—growing in strength as well?

A. There's no question that anti-labor forces are more

sophisticated and better financed today than ever before. The National Right to Work Committee is a good example. They have millions of dollars of businessmen's money which they use very skillfully to fight unionism. Your readers may have seen the ad campaign that they are running in magazines like *The New York Review of Books* and *The New Republic*. One of them has a headline that says "Endangered Species" next to a photograph of a fellow who looks like a Maine lobsterman. The text goes on to lament the plight of the strong individual worker who doesn't like unions, yet must join in order to work.

Sometimes I wonder how all these strong individualists would feel going to work every day at \$2.35 an hour without any seniority protection and without benefits that have been won by that union he supposedly dislikes so much. These so-called individualists exist in the minds of the executives who dream up this propaganda, but I don't see many of them on the shop floors.

This group is bombarding Americans with letters, films, pamphlets, and every other sort of propaganda. There's an element of desperation to their efforts, but the labor movement has got to respond with equally sophisticated communications efforts or we're going to lose ground. □

NLRB LICENSES LYING

DONALD JACOBS

The union was winning its organizing campaign and Lakeshore Nursing Home was getting desperate. So it put out a leaflet. "The following are actual cases in which union members have been fined by their union," management's statement declared: "A union member attended church instead of a union meeting; \$5. A union member made derogatory remarks about the union and its officials; \$1,000. A union member refused to join a strike; \$2,000."

Notwithstanding the leaflet's clear implications, the union that was organizing this Rochester, N.Y. home in 1975 had never fined a member for any reason. Had that leaflet been distributed just before the election—and posted, as is often the case, on bulletin boards, locker room walls, time card racks and in other places where workers couldn't miss it—it might well have turned the tide for Lakeshore. But in that case, the chances are that the results wouldn't have stood up.

Until April 13, 1977, elections were often voided by the National Labor Relations Board if the winning side misrepresented the facts during the campaign. When such misrepresentations are made today, the board lets the results stand. The difference is "Shopping Kart"—a decision by the NLRB that, in effect, gives management and labor a license to lie in union organizing campaigns.

By upholding the results of an election at Shopping Kart Food Market in Maricopa County, Arizona, the board reversed a rule it had applied for more than twenty years. The rule was that a new election would be ordered if the winning side said or wrote something during the campaign that was "a substantial departure from the truth"—and if the statement was made by someone in a position to know the facts, was made so close to the election that the other side had no time to reply, and was about an issue important enough to affect the outcome of the election.

The 14-to-8 victory at Shopping Kart for a retail

clerks local was perhaps encouraged by an election-eve statement made by the union's vice president. At a meeting with workers, he claimed the store had profits of \$500,000 in the previous year; in fact, profits were \$50,000. The company's request for a new election was to no avail. "Rules in this area must be based on a view of employees as mature individuals who are capable of recognizing campaign propaganda for what it is and discounting it," the NLRB said, as it announced it will no longer search into the accuracy of campaign statements.

To some, the decision was long overdue. "The issue is whether employees are capable of evaluating egregious kinds of misstatements by either side," says Arthur Smith, assistant professor of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell. "They are fairly sophisticated. Most employees are really not duped. They're capable of deciding for themselves whether someone is pulling the wool over their eyes."

But if maturity or sophistication is truly the issue, it is hard to understand why the American worker should be deemed more mature than, say, the American consumer. Truth-in-lending and truth-in-advertising laws exist not because the American consumer is judged naive but because society thinks it important that he be guaranteed the right to make an informed decision, based on facts. Indeed, it would seem that a consumer, watching commercials in the sanctity of his living room, is in a far better, less anxiety-producing, position to evaluate the accuracy of statements than a worker called to a meeting by the company that pays his salary. And while it may seem at first glance that the Shopping Kart decision is even-handed—lies by both management and labor are tolerated—management is the real winner.

The company has the ability to respond and communicate in ways that are unavailable to the union. Only the company can make speeches over the plant's public address system; only the company can post notices throughout the plant; and only the company can call meetings during working time and require employees to attend. There have even been cases in which companies have dramatized the burdens of union membership by deducting the amount of dues from workers' paychecks and

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paying it to them separately. Before Shopping Kart, one company withheld \$7.50 from weekly checks—but the election was set aside because the union's dues were in fact \$7.50 a month. If the same tactic were used today, it would, presumably, be futile to object.

"I think the decision is a tremendous setback for labor," says Larry Fox, Rhode Island area director for 1199, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. "How the NLRB can rationalize protecting workers' rights to organize and at the same time disregard statements the employer makes—however removed from reality—is beyond me. We see in organizing drives the most trumped-up, far-fetched, insidious kinds of stuff that an employer will put out the day of an election.

"The board says workers have enough sense to judge for themselves," Fox continues. But if workers don't have the time to hear the other side, they have no way to measure whether the statement is true or not. It's sort of like the board is saying the people ought to be so cynical that they shouldn't believe anything anybody said."

In the Shopping Kart decision, the board relied heavily on a study, published in the *Stanford Law Review*, that found investigations into accuracy to be wasteful. Workers, it said, don't really pay much attention to the pre-election campaign and rarely change their pre-campaign feelings toward a union. In elections examined by law professors Julius G. Getman and Stephen B. Goldberg, workers could recall only about 10 percent of the issues raised in campaign letters, meetings and personal contacts. Few could remember the details of statements about wages and other important matters. But the study covered only a small area of the country and only thirty-one elections—a fact that makes the validity of the statistical sample highly questionable.

Employers *did* lose one advantage with the Shopping Kart decision. Formerly, when a union won an election, management could delay the union's certification by claiming that false statements had been made during the

campaign. Even where there was no factual basis for the assertion and the election results were upheld, it took months for the board to investigate. The prospect of having additional months of union-free operations prompted some employers to file frivolous objections that, besides adding to the board's already heavy caseload, temporarily frustrated the will of the majority. For this reason, NLRB member Peter Walther, who voted with the 3-to-2 majority in Shopping Kart, recently told New York University's National Conference on Labor that the decision was actually "very pro-union."

Statistics indicate, however, that while the frivolous objection option was available to all employers, relatively few used it. The board conducts more than 10,000 elections per year. Yet, at the time Shopping Kart was decided, the agency was confronted with only 300 to 400 objections per year that claimed campaign misrepresentations. From 1971 through 1976, unions filed 960 such objections, employers 1,200. Thus, it seems clear that the pre-Shopping Kart rule wasn't abused to any significant degree. What it may well have done, on the other hand, was act as a deterrent to misrepresentation in the vast majority of elections whose results went unchallenged.

If employers want to file frivolous objections, it is unlikely that Shopping Kart will dissuade them. Says Charles McDonald, staff assistant in the AFL-CIO's Department of Organization and Field Service: "If an employer is bent on delaying certification, he can do it by saying the union coerced the employees. I think the real impact of Shopping Kart is that it will open a new level of campaign misrepresentation by the employer."

And union organizers aren't the only ones who object to the decision. "The board didn't adopt a thoughtful policy in moving in this direction," says lawyer Barry Whitman, whose Rochester, N.Y. firm of Harter, Secrest and Emery represents, for the most part, management clients. "Whichever side resorts to misrepresentations may enjoy a benefit. It obviously affords an incentive to engage in misrepresentation. I don't think that kind of incentive should exist under the law." □

LEFT AND RIGHT IN BED TOGETHER

Italy's Uncomfortable Politics

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

Faithful to a view of history measured by the second hand on their watches, American journalists depict Western Europe as either at the edge of chaos, the beginning of a new epoch—or both. The absurdity is not excused by the fact that these antitheses echo the proclamations of Europe's political antagonists; the Europeans, after all, are far too intelligent to believe their own rhetorical excesses. Visiting Rome, Bonn and Paris, I found the apocalypse delayed. Unfortunately, I also found a measure of truth in the bitter socialist adage: the revolution

originally scheduled for today will now take place, on account of inclement weather, indoors. Large hopes and dark forebodings, eager anticipation of change and anxious calculations of loss, are perfectly realistic European responses to the larger historical prospect. Alternation of government and real shifts in power lie ahead. For the next year or two, however, Europe's Left and Eu-

Norman Birnbaum has just returned from a trip to Western Europe. Beyond the Crisis, a book of essays from American and European thinkers which he edited, will be published in the fall by Oxford University Press, New York.

rope's Right will have to bow to a host of circumstances and be content to administer the possible.

In Italy, anxiety is appropriate. Governmental incompetence, civil disorder, economic recession and political deadlock appear to threaten collapse, or—still worse from some American (and Italian) perspectives—Communist participation in power. But appearances are deceptive. The issues are dramatic, but they are by no means simple, and nothing will be resolved quickly.

The Communists, of course, already participate in power. They control regions and municipalities (often with Socialist and Christian Democratic cooperation), are entrenched in the cultural industry, may soon begin to place their experts in the large state economic sector. Welcoming the Italian Premier, Giulio Andreotti, President Carter the other day commended him for giving Italy the best government it had enjoyed in twenty years. It is no longer possible to tax Dr. Brzezinski, who presumably wrote those lines, with lacking a sense of humor. The only thing that distinguishes this government from its predecessors is that it has negotiated every step it has taken with the Communists. In the circumstances, those of Andreotti's Christian Democratic colleagues who obviously wish that history—and more than a third of the Italian electorate—could be forgotten must have taken the tribute as ambiguous.

It is true that Italy has a reputation for Byzantine statecraft. The Christian Democrats insist that they can stay in office only for as long as the Communists abstain from voting confidence in them—but add that they would appreciate it if the Communists would refrain from voting no confidence in them. The present government is, indeed, termed a government of "*non sfiducia*"—of non-no confidence. It is gradually turning into something else.

Before leaving for Washington, Andreotti presided over a marathon meeting of his divided cabinet, which in the end agreed to present to Parliament a law that would give the regions and municipalities large economic and social powers. The law was drafted by a Parliamentary committee chaired by a Communist, and is likely to be opposed by a substantial number of Christian Democratic deputies. Nevertheless, it will pass, for the Left and lay parties will join the rest of the Christian Democrats in the vote. The Historical Compromise, whereby the Communists have sought to become partners in the governing of Italy, is a fact, and it is hard to imagine what can be gained by pretending that it weighs only upon the future. The question today concerns the dimensions of the Compromise, and whether it can be fully instituted quickly enough to head off the chaos many of its opponents (particularly on the Right) so obviously desire.

Under present conditions, only three governments are possible in Italy. The first would be one of the Right—in which the Christian Democrats would depend for a very narrow Parliamentary majority upon the smaller parties of the Right, including the Neo-Fascists. The second would be an alliance of the Left (the Communists, Socialists, Demoproletarians and Radicals) with some of the smaller republican and lay parties. That majority might attract some Christian Democrats, but the Commu-

nists resolutely refuse to consider it, although the Socialists have, at times, urged them to do so. The third government would be a coalition of Communists with Christian Democrats, more or less supported by the other parties. That coalition is in the making, but its terms are a matter of bitter dispute—not only between Left and Right but within the groupings of Left and Right. The parties of the Left accuse the Communist leaders of making too many concessions to the Right. The Right segment of the Christian Democrats, led by Washington's former client, Amintore Fanfani, would clearly prefer civil war to more concessions to the Communists. The group around Andreotti (and Aldo Moro) has not lost its sense of national responsibility but obviously hopes that something will turn up to spare it the necessity of offering cabinet posts to Communists.

For the moment, both the Christian Democrats and the Communists prefer to concentrate on matters immediately at hand. The latter insist that the new powers for the regions represent a major triumph for themselves, and they may be right. The Vatican, fearing that some ecclesiastical property might be threatened, sent emissaries to the party to ask for a moderation the party was only too happy to show. Again, the party's critics insist that its conversion to Christian virtues will work only if the Christians learn to turn the other cheek. That has not been a conspicuous characteristic of political Catholicism in Italy: the ideological obscurantism and socioeconomic voracity of the Italian Right are nowhere more evident than in negotiations with the Communists.

The government has largely blocked Communist demands (stubbornly supported by the Socialists) that technocrats from the Left parties enter the ministries and state industry. The Communists do not want more nationalization. Or rather, they seek the effective nationalization of that 40 percent of the Italian economy nominally in the state sector but actually a fief of the Christian Democrats. On this, the Christian Democrats are for the moment unyielding. However, the managers of some of the largest state enterprises have been vociferously protesting the continuation of clientelism, and the managers may have the ears of Italy's foreign bankers. The Communists have agreed to the International Monetary Fund's austere terms for the country's economy, and the managerial revolt in the state sector fits their long-term strategy. They have called for an alliance of Italy's productive strata (workers, managers, entrepreneurs) to eliminate the corruption and inefficiency of the Christian Democratic state.

There is plenty of evidence that some members of Italy's business elite, like Guido Carli, once in charge of the Bank of Italy and now allied with the Fiat group, are prepared to accept that alliance. The Christian Democrats have been reduced to seeking the aid of foreign business (that is, American capital) to fight against it. Better bribes to corrupt officials of the Right than the intransigence of Communist unionists and Communist or Socialist technocrats. One sees easily how and why the Communists can claim to represent national self-respect.

The Communists have agreed to a cessation of new

employment in the public sector. In negotiating the new law for the regions, they asked that 250,000 part-time administrative posts—in effect, pure instances of corruption—be abolished. This proposal threw the Christian Democratic parliamentarians into an uproar. Negotiations will continue, but how long can the Communists count on the discipline of the organized working class? Communist unionists like Luciano Lama and Bruno Trentin have urged the workers to accept austerity, but they have also promised a program of rationalization and investment which the Christian Democrats seem incapable of instituting. And there are unionists other than the Communists. The Socialists and Catholics have been very critical of the burdens placed upon the working class in the present version of the Historical Compromise.

If the stagnation continues, the Communist unionists may have to choose between their loyalty to the party's present course and their obligations to the workers. It does not follow that they will abandon the party but they may well insist on more militant policies, on the alternative of the Left and lay alliance.

Despite its installation in municipal and regional government in the industrial north, then, the Communist position with respect to the party's traditional core—the industrial workers—has been shaken. At the same time, it has lost ground among the unskilled, the unemployed, students, those working on Italy's vast labor black market, and in the chronically depressed areas of the countryside and the south. A Communist Party reduced to representing the skilled working class could become a smaller version of a northern European Social Democratic Party, or something like the encapsulated French Communist Party—strong among the industrial workers, weak nearly everywhere else. The marginal groups, moreover, could turn to violence—some of them, like the students, have already done so.

The Italian Communists' success has rested on their capacity to fuse a national goal (the construction of an independent and secular Italy) with the specific class interests of the industrial workers. It was this that enabled them to make some progress in the south—a region itself marginal to all of Europe. Now their attempt to enlarge Italy's political consensus is damaging them in the eyes of two of the three groups on which they have long counted. The losses they have incurred among the skilled workers of the north, and among the large marginal groups who must bear so much of the cost of the country's staggeringly uneven development, are as nothing compared with their difficulties with the educated middle class.

The Italians have a term, *borghese avanzata*—advanced bourgeoisie. It means that one can remain perfectly middle class or bourgeois in employment and income, but think in critical terms about cultural and social issues. The founder of the Italian Communist Party, Antonio Gramsci, knew that socialism could never develop in an Italy devoid of a socialist culture. However, the precondition for developing a socialist culture was the completion of the work of the Enlightenment—the cultural politics of the Italian republicans. Gramsci

also held that Catholicism had to be interpreted, in Italy, as a profound popular force; to dismiss it as simply a result of a conspiracy between the propertied and the priests was futile.

The first insight led to the development of an open Italian Marxism, to the cultivation of the intellectuals, to the emergence of the Italian Communist Party as the heir to the republican tradition. The second led to the delicate and respectful policy toward the Catholics that has culminated in the Historical Compromise—the doctrine that nothing can change in Italy unless and until the Christian Democrats and the Communists, as the major representatives of a secular politics, agree on a program. Christian Democratic intransigence has had one result: the secularist middle class thinks that Compromise has gone too far, and has broken away from the Communists for whom it voted in great numbers as recently as last year.

One of the catalysts in this process has been the very strong Italian women's movement, which is not entirely middle class, since it enjoys much sympathy and support from Italy's working women. In June, the supposedly agreed-upon draft of an abortion law was blocked in the Senate. No one quite knows who voted against it,



Heilbronner Stimme (Germany)
Premier Giulio Andreotti

but current hypotheses evoke the possibility of sabotage of the Historical Compromise by Christian Democrats who oppose it on the Right, by Socialists opposed to it on the Left, or by an unavowed arrangement wherein Communists and Christian Democrats agreed to stop a law which they both ostensibly supported.

Andiamo in piazza, was the response of the women's movement: let's go into the streets. They did, in great numbers, and the shock threatens to destroy the painfully constructed edifice of the Historical Compromise. Once in the streets, the women did not go home. Instead, they gathered signatures for eight referendums sponsored by the miniature Radical Party, which has but four deputies in Parliament. The referendums call for the abrogation of the current laws on abortion, but also for the abrogation of the Lateran Treaties and the Concordat with the Vatican, for the abolition of the military code of justice and the penal code (both remnants of fascism), for more powers for parliamentary committees of inquiry, and for the reform of psychiatric institutions. In short, they demand the immediate destruction of a large component of authoritarianism and clericalism in Italian public life. Half a million signatures are required to institute a referendum. The reaction to the defeat of the abortion law (they are still illegal in Italy) enabled the women and the Radicals to gather 700,000 signatures. I was in the Piazza Navona during that campaign, and the youth of the crowd, as well as its mood, suggested that the Radicals had inherited some of the hopes raised by the Communists' electoral victory of last year. Should the signatures be validated, the referendums could be blocked only by dissolving Parliament.

Neither the Christian Democrats nor the Communists want elections now, but neither do they want so divisive a set of referendums to bedevil Parliament. We are against each of the two large churches, I was told by Marco Pannella, the Radical leader. His movement has added a large new uncertainty to a situation already unclear and unsteady.

Meanwhile, the Communists are at odds with another set of intellectuals. There has been a series of terrorist attacks on public figures, judges and journalists, and at the trial of one accused terrorist, some jurors begged to be excused for fear of retaliation. Well-known figures, including the Nobel Laureate in Literature, Eugenio Montale, expressed sympathy for the recalcitrant jurors. A state so weak and corrupt, they said, could hardly ask its citizens to defend it. The distinguished Socialist thinker, Norbert Bobbio, declared that he feared for the republic: he saw nothing that could save it. The Communists reacted strongly. This republic, they argued, was the only one the Italian people had—it merited respect and defense. Almost immediately, they gained another set of critics.

Some of the protests of the students and of the unemployed are real enough. Last spring, the union leader Lama, was chased off the campus of the University of Rome. There have been eruptions of shooting and looting, and the "Metropolitan Indians"—bands of young persons acting out their lack of connection with a society which refuses them useful employment—have appeared in Rome. Meanwhile, the trials of terrorists accused of the bombings of some years ago provide unequivocal evidence that many of them were double agents—employed by the police or by military intelligence to provoke tension. Prominent Christian Democrats (many of them now negotiating with the Communists) have been named in these trials as having been aware of these connections,

and of a series of plots against the state. The Communists have been, to say the least, remarkably restrained on all of these questions. They have reached agreement with the Christian Democrats on a series of anti-terrorist measures—including the legalization of police wiretapping and the suspension of the Italian equivalent of *habeas corpus* for those suspected of terrorism.

The agreement was reached shortly after a Radical newspaper published photographs that allowed only one inference: many of the rioting students of the spring had been police provocateurs. The Communists even dropped their demand that the police be allowed to unionize. Their concessions brought them much Italian criticism, and now Foucault and Sartre have condemned them, from Paris, for joining the Christian Democrats in repressing the Italian Left. Many of those to the left of the Communists, it should be added, have lined up with the party and the Christian Democrats in advising the French to mind their own business. However, the episode does indicate how tortuous is the road to compromise.

Most of the Christian Democrats believe that they can avoid similar difficulties of their own by hewing to the straight and narrow path of anti-communism. That they can cling to this belief even as some of their leaders negotiate seriously with the Communists proves something more than the primacy of their obsessions. The Christian Democrats are extremely fragmented. The current government is dominated by the factions around Andreotti, Moro, and the party's secretary, Benigno Zaccagnini. Andreotti is the most competent and perhaps the most technocratic of the Christian Democrats—he actually lives in the modern world. It has been unclear for years what century Moro inhabits, but he does wish to become President of the republic when Parliament proceeds to the elections next year. Zaccagnini is the herald of a reformed political Catholicism in Italy, and most of his energies have gone to struggling against leaders like Fanfani in his own party.

Those who oppose the Compromise have two reasons to think that they will succeed. The first is their conviction that the United States will in the end refuse to tolerate the entry of the Communists into government. The second, which follows rather closely from the first, is that enough forces in Italian society will support them if they unleash a civil war rather than accept relegation to opposition. They count, of course, upon right-thinking generals, upon the fears of the lower middle classes, upon their capacity to manipulate, even if they cannot lead, the marginal strata. It is impossible to say whether they could succeed in a civil war. It is entirely possible that they are capable of attempting one.

Whether or not they resort to this desperate expedient depends not alone upon the support they can expect from the United States, but also upon the politics of the Church. The Italian Church is divided on the Historical Compromise. Some cardinals and bishops regard it as hellish; they would justify fighting fire with fire. Others see it as a penitential or purgatorial trial for the Church—in which case inner renewal (I hesitate to use the term, reformation) would be in order. The Italian Church

responded with painful defensiveness to the Second Vatican Council, and the convulsions of our society in the past two decades have not spared it. There is a strong undercurrent of Catholic leftism, sometimes allied with the Communist Party, sometimes taking independent forms. The Catholic Left falls back upon a pre-industrial, an anti-capitalist, vision of a society as something else than an aggregate of individuals organized by the market. So, however, does the Catholic Center and the Right—which respond to the contradictions of Italian capitalism in different ways.

The Center seeks to modernize or adapt Catholic political and social doctrine; the Right seeks to reinforce traditional values, condemns much modern culture as pathological, and is quite willing to use authoritarian means to attain what it thinks of as sacred ends. One can place Zaccagnini (and Andreotti, insofar as he gives these abstract issues some attention) in the Center. Their politics reflect a movement of renewal in the Church itself, expressed in groupings like the one that calls itself *Comune e Liberazione*—Community and Liberation. The Catholic Center believes that it can transform Italy's institutions by infusing them with a new ethos. It is preparing, in other words, for a long-term confrontation with the secularists and the Communists. The Italian Right thinks the situation requires a defense of established values and present institutions. The only form of confrontation it is prepared to accept is a hostile one. Fanfani's subtlety is very great in matters of patronage, but totally absent from his understanding of history.

The hierarchy itself is of several minds, and no one can say what the Pope thinks. He has sent his able former foreign secretary, Cardinal Benelli, as archbishop to Florence—an indication that he thinks the confrontation with secularism will have to be fought out at the local level for a long time. (Benelli, as the Vatican's chief of diplomacy, has been a target for the ultra-Right Catholics around Archbishop Lefebvre, who think that the Vatican has compromised itself in Eastern Europe. It does not follow that he is likely to be an easy link to the Church for the Italian Communists.) The Italian bishops have reason to distrust Fanfani who urged them into the referendum on divorce of 1974, where they suffered a humiliating defeat. They are unable, as a group, to advance to that level of sophistication shown by the French bishops, who think of their Church as a missionary Church in alien territory.

The conviction that Italy is and ought to be Catholic dies hard; most of the bishops have called for battle again, on the issue of abortion. One of the most penetrating of Italy's Catholic thinkers, the Jesuit Father Sorge, has recently been rather optimistic. If I understand him correctly, he thinks that a popular renewal of Catholicism may coincide with the change of generations in the Christian Democratic Party. That would indicate a centrist strategy, an attempt to adapt Catholicism to a world very much changed, to seek modulated forms of confrontation with the Communists and with Italy's secular forces generally. Father Sorge has in fact approved of the present steps taken by Andreotti—no unimportant

matter, since he is listened to by the Pope. The Communists always held that an Historical Compromise would be possible only with an intact Christian Democracy, with a political Catholicism sure of itself. It can be said that the success of the Communist strategy depends to a large extent upon renewal within Italian Catholicism. That, in many ways, is not within the power of the Central Committee to influence.

There is no reason for the Italians, then, not to have enjoyed their vacations. Politics is at dead center. The Communists have ceased to advance, the Christian Democrats have ceased to recede. Barring a Communist move in the direction of a Left and lay coalition, barring a Christian Democratic recourse to civil war (or to its preliminary stage, a parliamentary alliance with the Neo-Fascists), the two great antagonists are bound to each other. Local elections involving 3 million voters are scheduled for the fall. It is unlikely that the results will alter very much; the forces opposing each other are social, and electoral politics are not everything. There is no third force in sight. After years of political decline and their recent electoral disaster, the Socialists have embarked upon self-renewal. They have urged the Communists to demand stiffer terms of the Christian Democrats—a rather large form of revenge upon the Communists for having campaigned in 1976 by telling Socialist voters that their own party would only compromise with the Catholics. But they are not in a position to precipitate a crisis by withdrawing their support (cloaked as abstention) from the government.

The only plausible way out of the present stalemate would be the realization of the Historical Compromise—the entry of the Communists into government, adequate representation for the working class, the beginning of the reform of the state and state enterprise, a change of public ethos. History does not invariably record plausible solutions to human problems, and there is no reason to expect that the Italians will behave more reasonably than other peoples. The danger is that, as the stalemate continues, each major force will suffer attrition, even decomposition. The workers, the marginal groups, the educated, will drift away from the Communists. The fundamentalists in politics and religion will move away from the Christian Democrats. The Radicals and Socialists will profit somewhat on the Left, the Liberals and Neo-Fascists on the Right. A pervasive depoliticization may be the result, with violent and extreme solutions suddenly carrying greater conviction.

I began by saying that Left and Right in Europe were administering possibility, rather than creating it. Italy's weak position in the world market, its dependence upon political initiatives from the United States and the West European nations, narrow the possibilities open to its leaders. With the balance of forces within Italy so precarious, it may be that international pressures will decide the outcome of Italy's crisis. That does not mean that the United States alone can settle the matter. In Western Europe, the American epoch has come to an end. The French and the Germans remain to be heard from. That, however, is matter for a second article. □

BOOKS & THE ARTS

Poetry, Penetrable and Impenetrable

RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS. By John Ashbery. The Ecco Press. 64 pp. \$3.50.

OUT-OF-THE-BODY TRAVEL. By Stanley Plumly. The Ecco Press. 48 pp. \$6.50.

THE BLUE ESTUARIES: Poems 1923-1968. By Louise Bogan. The Ecco Press. 136 pp. \$3.50.

CLARA CLAIBORNE PARK

When overcomplication becomes habitual, something may be said for oversimplification. As follows:

In a state of nature, people don't like reading things they can't understand. They don't like this because it makes them feel bad. Bad, not merely peevish and impatient. Peevishness and impatience reflect the assumption of a superior relationship, and superiority is never without its satisfactions. What's bad is to feel out of it, stupid, inadequate, like the college freshman from the small Ohio high school meeting up with J. Alfred Prufrock when everybody else already knows him from Chappaqua and Exeter. Reviewers, like college professors, are not in a state of nature; it is an advantage we have over freshmen and other readers. When assailed by feelings of stupidity and inadequacy we have more effective ways of escaping. We can be knowing; we can skate over what we don't understand and talk about what we do; we can change the subject. Yet innocence is a quality we can't afford wholly to lose. It may be more productive to recognize feelings of inadequacy than to rise above them. We may now be ready to assert that poetry is not well served when poets and critics routinely assume the power to make their readers feel stupid.

We must emphasize "routinely." Because, of course, there has always been poetry to puzzle us; we can't oversimplify our way past that. The reader has always had to keep ready for the poem which will make extraordinary

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calls upon his time, his patience, his capacities, both those he knows he possesses and those the poem calls forth to meet its unique exigencies. Poetic difficulty is nothing new. What has changed is the proportion of hard to easy, inaccessible to accessible, private to public. It is not particular poems or poets that make us uncomfortable, but the total weight of the ordinary demands of poetic practice, as it has developed in the sixty years since (to oversimplify) J. Alfred Prufrock began our apprenticeship in the willing suspension of peevishness and impatience.

It is more than a coincidence that these years of the steady contraction of poetry's public sector are also the years in which English literature became for the first time a subject of study. We should not forget that that seemingly immemorial entity, The English Department, did not exist before the 20th century. In no previous era was it a function of university teaching to train an audience for literature written in the mother tongue. Students in universities a hundred years ago did not study Shakespeare, or Pope, or the Romantic poets; still less did they study contemporary poetry. They did study Latin and Greek; the daily rigors of translation conveyed that sense of the nuances of language that our monoglot students must get from courses in close reading. Poetry in English was not studied, but read. People who did not find reading it in some way enjoyable did not read it at all. There was no occasion to; one of the more interesting dates in literary history must be the date when someone was first graded on his reading of a poem.

Those who enjoyed reading poetry usually began in childhood, when rhyme and rhythm are natural pleasures and poetry is just another thing to read. There was a large body of public poetry to sample, often written, as Richard Wilbur has noted, by the same poets who provided the hard stuff: Browning wrote "The Pied Piper of Hamelin," and Tennyson "The Revenge." Those who enjoyed poetry read—even bought—a lot of it. Naturally many of them learned to read well—even without English departments—to work at a text when and where necessary, to wrestle and to

puzzle out. But they did this in pursuit of some voluntary satisfaction. Anyone who teaches in college today knows, however, that most students of literature met their first poetry not as part of a natural environment of words and rhythms but as an assigned subject of study. Predictably the most gifted of these—professors, reviewers, and poets to be—acquire an exaggerated, not to say vested, interest in the kind of poetry that is assigned—that which demands and justifies their acquired skills. When the poetry most admired comes to be of the kind that most people have to be taught to read, the symbiosis that arises between poetry and the academy is not wholly benign.

In the introduction to *All What Jazz*, Philip Larkin writes of "the two tensions from which art springs, the tension between the artist and his material, and between the artist and his audience. In the last seventy-five years or so the second of these two tensions has slackened or even perished. In consequence the artist becomes overconcerned with his material"; in "an age of technical experiment," he becomes irresponsible. Unpacked, Larkin's metaphor is a powerful one. A rope can only be kept tight if there is somebody pulling at each end. The ideal reader should be responsive and willing, but he should not be too accommodating. The audience has its own responsibility; no relationship is satisfactory in which one member vacates his own needs and desires. The tension's gone then; he has ceased to hold up his end.

You were my quintuplets when I decided to leave you.

Opening a picture book the pictures were all of grass

Slowly the book was on fire, you the reader

Sitting with specs full of smoke exclaimed

How it was a rhyme for "brick" or "redder."

The next chapter told all about a brook.

You were beginning to see the relation when a tidal wave

Arrived with sinking ships that spelled out "Aladdin."

Obscurity, of course, cannot be demonstrated by snippets. There is always the suspicion that the full context would make all plain, as there may be more than the suspicion that what has in fact

been demonstrated is stupidity and inadequacy. I choose this snippet, however, because it actually seems less opaque out of its context, which gives as little support for my interpretation as for any other. Thus isolated, however, the lines suggest—quintuplets aside—what we would not otherwise suspect: that John Ashbery has a real feel for what it's like to be one of his readers. Indeed, the moments when we are beginning to see the relation are rare and fleeting, the tidal waves unremitting, and the poet's the fellow who keeps sinking us. Contempt? Indifference, more likely. Endlessly absorbed in the glittering surprises of his solitary games, he has better things to do than talk to us.

Ashbery's degree of impenetrability is such that even critics shyly acknowledge it. Few, however, protest; the Ohio freshman lurks in us all. Paul Zweig catches the prevailing tone of woozy respect: "I read each new book by John Ashbery with the same bewilderment and fascination. Ashbery's finely tuned style never lapses into the commonplace. And yet," he adds, "one never knows quite what the poems are about." Some steady their nerves with hyperbole: "Breathtaking freshness in which dazzling orchestrations of language open up areas of consciousness no other American poet has even begun to explore" (J.M. Brinnin); "Magnificent . . . an emergence into the light of a new clarity and beauty" (J.H. in *Harper's*). But most acknowledge bafflement and pass on to shore fragments against ruin. It seems to help to recall that a poem should not mean but be; to Richard Howard, Ashbery's are "poems which are, rather than are about, the world," and for Victor Howes, they "do not 'mean' in the conventional ways that poems mean," but "simply exist." Peevishness and impatience might clear the air, but few are ready to risk Irwin Ehrenpreis's magisterial "Most of his work will tire nearly all of his readers." Ashbery is the only poet to be accorded two titles in Ecco Press's American Poetry Series—No. 8, *The Double Dream of Spring*, and No. 12, a reprint of his 1968 *Rivers and Mountains*. These inexpensive paperbacks afford a good opportunity to check out why you think Ashbery won, in 1976, The National Book Critics' Circle Award, the National Book Award, and the Pulitzer Prize.

Stanley Plumly's *Out-of-the-Body Travel* is Ecco's No. 10, and there's no

hesitation over what his poems are about. He plays no games, and he's anything but flashy. He writes about his grandmother, with whom he planted marigolds, about his mother, calling the children in in summer, about his father, who "had farm in him the way/ some men have pain," killing a bull, drunk, lifting his violin ("finest of furniture"), he writes of the dead and the dreams which bring them back. In one poem he is wearing his father's body and breathing his breath; in another he lies down side by side with him in the darkness which for one of them is imagined, for the other real. These are experiences which grope deep; they are widely sharable, and we cannot doubt Plumly's will to share them in these serious, touching poems, their subjects as immediate, as directly apprehensible as Hardy's—people working too hard, dying too soon, pain and ill luck that can be honored but not made up for. "Poor is cold feet in the morning, cold floor." How can we not respond to such genuine concerns?

Yet the poems stop short of making their personal urgencies our own. They are not, I think, well served by the obligatory indirection of their presentation; they would have benefited by the hard disciplines of simplicity. Though they are not long, they sprawl. Loosely organized, they reach in uncertain directions; rarely do they achieve that sure cadence which lets us know that only this was to be said, and only in this way. Form might increase a sense of closure, and Plumly likes to assemble lines not too dissimilar in length into groups of fourteen, though he doesn't rhyme, of course, or trouble himself with measure. The poems look like sonnets on the page, though, and one of them is even so labeled. But they merely allude cloudily to a tradition; they do not respond to the exigencies of sound and pulse which might crystallize their effects.

Plumly's not out to puzzle. More often than not he gives us the clues we need, and we wander no more uncertainly than we're accustomed to between memory, imagination and dream.

*It looked like oak, white oak, oak of
the oceans,
oak of the Lord, live oak, oak if a boy
could choose.
The names, like ganglia, were the
leaves, flesh*

*of our fathers. So Sundays I would
stand
on a chair and trace, as on a county
map,
back to the beginnings of cousins,*

*nomenclature. This branch, this root . . .
I could feel the weight of my body
take hold,
toe in. I could see the same shape in
my hand.*

*And if from the floor it looked like a
cauliflower,
dried, dusted, pieced back together,
paper—
my bad eyes awed by the detailed dead
and named—*

*it was the stalk of the spine as it
culminates at the brain,
a drawing I had seen in a book about
the body, each leaf
inlaid until the man's whole back, root
and stem, was veins.*

Unlike Ashbery, Plumly means us to accompany him. That, after all, is what those escalated demands on the reader were meant to accomplish: to make us collaborators in the process of the poem, and thus in the unfolding of the experience itself. And we do find our way from the white oak to the family tree the boy stands on a chair to pore over on Sundays, and if the cauliflower diverts us, we get back on course when we note the bad eyes and think what the tree looks like from the floor. We can ignore the false trail—it's not the cauliflower that's dried, as the grammar indicates, but the paper of the old chart. When the cauliflower becomes a brain we're ready. The difficulties which don't yield aren't crucial (oak of the oceans? the Lord? toe in?). Should we attend to the triplets? They don't seem necessitated, but perhaps we are to think of Stevens. We may still be uncertain what we're to make of the tree become body, but we've garnered a respectable harvest. The stupid feeling passes; we're not coming out of this at all badly. Let's try this, from one of the fourteen-liners:

*The time I break my arm you swear
me to the ground—no more rivers,
no more side-car rides—
and stay up half
the night to rub my legs to sleep.
Sometimes you talk as if Roosevelt
were still there. Recovery is memory.
I never broke my arm.*

That seems plain enough; we've already been told the boy plays on the railroad bridge. Yet what are we to make of the contradiction about the arm? What is it saying about the child's relationship to the remembered "you," about memory, about recovery (should we recall the NRA?). We're on our own. Why be sullen, then? Why not guess, use the skills developed for Eliot (who doesn't even puzzle us any more) and Stevens (who does and always will)? We're trained to track our way through discontinuities, to float with the

WATCHING A CANDLE

*A candle went down its own long stair
slowly, slowly, to see for itself.
Itself was the nothing it found,
and went out. No one in the dark,
I watched it all night. I was
myself in the morning. A friend
in the mirror saw me and waved
my steady hand, and I watched it wave.*

William Stafford

WAYS OF SEEING

1.

*Waves that were random
come on for a run,
organized Indians.*

*They press from a far place
helping each other's
thousand mile crawl.*

*One of them, your wave,
passes while I watch—
then just the ocean,*

On and on and on.

2.

*Leaves make a trail
lost people walk on,
and then a path no leaf
ever touches, where the hero
can wander guided by nothing,
a way of knowing where
the right path is
when a bird calls "Turn"
and the hero says, "No," and
the leaves move away
falling on all but the
unmarked path no one can find.*

William Stafford

ON AN UN-NAMED MOUNTAIN

*You try to be sure while you stand
quiet: quiet will reach you—
no voice, not even a whisper
miles away where you are. It is
while your closed eyes and silence
protect you that you hold the day
arched over nothing: nobody cares,
and without hurting the world you have
taken a breath again and given it away.
You open your eyes. It is an afternoon
on earth, and you are there.*

William Stafford

FACT SONG

1

*Benjamin Franklin, late in his 84th year,
his last year,
on a voyage across the Atlantic,
kept throwing out a bottle on a string,
pulled it up, then threw it out again.
He arrived in New York,
tossed his hat from ship to shore,
having just proved
the existence of the Gulf Stream.*

2

*Ancient Hebrew judges
listed the crimes
for which the penalty of death
might be given, but added
woe be unto any judge
who had given the sentence
more than once in seven years,
and any court in which the death penalty
had been pronounced
should be known from then on
as the court of the assassins.*

3

*Obscure orders of monks and nuns
make the Seder, observing
most Christians base their holiest sacrament
on something Christ said when he celebrated
the Passover meal,
"This is my body, this is my blood,"
the promise of everlasting life,
—ignoring the other lesson
that he was himself spending the evening
celebrating the escape of the Jews from Egypt,
drinking to the everlasting life of a people
as a people.*

4

*It is good to keep the future holy,
I know more of what isn't than what is.
If working in your garden,
they run to you saying the Messiah is coming,
first plant another tree
then go to meet the Messiah.*

Stanley Moss

alternative interpretations we can't eliminate. Poetry is complex, after all, multileveled, ambiguous. Why not get to work?

I mean to be peevish, but I should not be unfair. Plumly doesn't deserve to be made a scapegoat. He's just a working poet, using the idiom as he finds it. It was an idiom, sixty years back, that promised a great deal—renewal of language grown inauthentic, immediacy, a new kind of participation. Above all it promised—as we still promise the freshmen—that the effort it demanded would yield commensurate rewards. And so it did. But promises wear out, and new idioms become as habitual as those they replace. We can feel what it was like, 200 years ago, to have read *enough* heroic couplets. But it is more than surfeit with an idiom increasingly easy to write and difficult to freshen. It is fatigue. Today the average poet routinely demands from us an expenditure of attention that a few in every age may earn, but which it is dangerous to assume. If poets are consistently not there when we need them, sooner or later we won't be there when they need us. Time runs on, and we realize there are not infinite stretches of it available for reading new poetry. *Carpe diem*; gather ye rosebuds while ye may. Why, we ask peevishly, don't they write them like that any more?

At first glance Louise Bogan's poems might seem to be "like that." Quatrains of all sorts, sonnets that are sonnets—we are in familiar country.

*What laid, I said,
My being waste?
'Twas your sweet flesh
With its sweet taste,—*

*Which, like a rose,
Fed with a breath,
And at its full
Belied all death.*

*It's at springs we drink;
It's bread we eat,
And no fine body,
Head to feet,*

*Should force all bread
And drink together,
Nor be both sun
And hidden weather.*

*Ah no, it should not;
Let it be.
But once heart's feast
You were to me.*

She did, in fact, over the forty-five years of her career as poet, write a number of lyrics as open as this one, and as lovely—a word from the past I shall not apologize for. But in most of the poems the lucidity is only apparent, an

artifact of the exact rhymes and regular meters within which the phrases rest so easily. Poem after poem issues an invitation which is partially or wholly withdrawn. We may understand some of them, finally, no better than we do Ashbery's:

*Before I saw the tall man
Few women should see,
Beautiful and imposing
Was marble to me.*

*And virtue had its place
And evil its alarms,
But not for that worn face,
And not in those roped arms.*

We cannot leave all the stupid questions to the freshmen. Is the tall man Age? But does age change the perception of good and evil? Death? But why should few women see him? We are encountering here not the poet as gamesman or as 20th-century journeyman but as sibyl. As Adrienne Rich writes, it is "the sense of mask, of code . . . beneath the praised, severe lyrical mode" which emerges as most characteristic of Louise Bogan. Rich puts this in a context of praise, and the publishers feature it on their announcement. But it does not seem to me that the masked poems are more successful than the open ones, though they may be more "interesting," even—revealing word—more "teachable."

As with Plumly, the difficulty is not imposed by the subject matter. The preoccupations are as familiar as the rhythms. Kingsley Amis once wrote a poem about idling in a bookstore, scanning an anthology table of contents, noting how, "like all strangers," the poems "divide by sex."

*Landscape near Parma
Interests a man; so does The Double
Vortex;
So does Rilke and Buddha.*

*"I travel, you see," "I think" and "I
can read"*

*These titles seem to say,
But I Remember You; Love Is My
Creed;
Poem for J.,*

*The ladies' choice, discountenance my
patter
For several seconds;
From somewhere in this as in any
matter
A moral beckons.*

*We men have got love well weighed
up; our stuff
Can get by without it.*

*Women don't seem to think that's good
enough;
They write about it.*

It is not that Louise Bogan did not travel, think or read. For two generations she reviewed for *The New Yorker*

with a scope of appreciation far wider than her practice. Nevertheless, she would have accepted Amis's division; as she herself wrote, "In women more than in men, the intensity of their emotions is the key to the treasures of their spirit." This prepares us for a certain restriction of subject matter; the actual range of emotion is narrower still. The poems are dedicated "to the memory of my father, mother, and brother," and she had a daughter and good friends, as well as a demanding career. Yet there is nothing here of the world of family or of work; the prevailing emotional reality of her poems is that of woman and man in love. Love relinquished, love outlasted, love uneasy, uncertain, unsatisfactory—but nevertheless, that old feeling. And with it, its old vocabulary: desire, glory, heart, lover, love itself; sweet and bitter; grief, sorrow; most insistently of all, passion. The exterior landscape too is familiar—wind, water, stars, hills, branches barren and fruitful, flowers, darkness and brightness, silver and gold. These are the words we've been taught to resist because they cannot be other than beautiful, the great, generalizing words. There is nothing of Emily Dickinson's sharp homeliness here, and little interest in precise recording of the natural world, though some poems show a capacity for it. She spent her adult life as a New Yorker, of course, and we need not expect bucolic exactitude. Yet there is no city imagery at all. This is poetry of that useful kind which was once so common—poetry in which language is not made to yield new possibilities, but is honorably maintained. It is a tribute to Bogan's genuineness and skill that she is able to keep these fine old words warm. It is also testimony to the persistence of our own stubborn innocence; we have not quite lost interest in the perennial landscape of the heart.

Ecco's decision to reissue significant volumes of verse is to be congratulated, as is their choice of *The Blue Estuaries* as No. 11 in their series. We do not expect to meet Louise Bogan flanked by Ashbery and Plumly, and may suspect the publishing decision had less to do with a new admiration for the traditional lyric than with the new clout of Women's Studies—though if Ecco decides to reissue Yvor Winters and J.V. Cunningham I shall eat my words in gladness. But it looks to me like reverse discrimination: that because this is the poetry of a woman, we are being issued a special licence to taste forbidden pleasures—a combination of formal music and delicacy of feeling that wouldn't get

by the publisher's reader in poems written by a man. "In women's deportment," she wrote, "the brutal, rough, swaggering, masculine gesture never, somehow works. . . . The gentle, nurturing feminine nature certainly precludes ultimate coarseness and harshness, either in tone or in choice of material." Miss Bogan was a lady, and unashamed. For all of her 72 years, after all, it was a natural and valid thing to be.

It may be here that we find the explanation for those codes and masks, for the obscurity the clear forms seem to deny. In affairs of the heart, a gentleman doesn't name names, and a lady will not be circumstantial. Sexual passion is her recurrent preoccupation—passion experienced through the backward perspectives not of fruition but loss. There are rules—standards, shall we say—for how a lady deals with this kind of emotion, rules once well known, though today's readers must infer them from Trollope and Henry James. A lady does not make this kind of emotion explicit. If she suffers, she does not expose her suffering. Still less does she confess. We may be uncertain today whether we believe in a feminine sensibility, but certainly, imposed or inborn, this is one way of being female—to suggest rather than state, to hint, to play safe. "Women," wrote Miss Bogan, "have no wilderness in them./They are provident instead."

*They wait, when they should turn to
journeys,
They stiffen, when they should bend.
They use against themselves that benevolence
To which no man is friend.*

Full communication is the greatest of risks—did we not start with Prufrock? It is a characteristically—though not exclusively—feminine kind of pride to feel that "You ought to be able to guess without my telling you."

William Jay Smith notes Miss Bogan's lifelong reticence; when her editors attempted to include a harmless anecdote in the introduction to her collected critical pieces (*A Poet's Alphabet*, 1970) she insisted the entire piece be rewritten to eliminate personal references. Privacy has a price, however. For me, at least, though there are fine single poems, her poetry as a whole is unsatisfying. Vocabulary, form and reticence combine to render it almost anonymous. Usually when we have read more than a hundred poems as sensitive and musical as these, we know the poet's sound if not the poet: "I'd recognize that voice anywhere." I wouldn't, as I would not have recognized her in the street.

Obscurity comes in many kinds—arrogant obscurity, routine obscurity, the obscurity of proud privacy, which is not at all the same as privatism. And there are many more, including the true mysteries which endlessly reward our contemplation. But genius today is no more generously distributed than it

ever has been. I submit that for most obscurity the natural emotion is not, and should not be, awe, or admiration, or even peevishness and impatience but regret—for the experience that elicited our failure as readers, and so gave us less than we could have had, have used. □

A Treatise of Preference

THE SITUATION OF POETRY: Contemporary Poetry and Its Traditions. By Robert Pinsky. Princeton University Press. 188 pp. \$11.50.

HELEN VENDLER

Most critics are not poets, and most poets are not critics, so in the nature of things intelligent criticism written by a practicing poet is rare and valuable. The poets who write criticism naturally use it to explain, analyze, and defend their own sort of literature, and Robert Pinsky's book is engaged and committed in this way. Though its style is even-tempered and attractive, it conveys an almost moral intensity—and, of course, in its advocacy of one sort of poetry, it necessarily slights another kind.

Pinsky was taught by Yvor Winters, through whom he seems to have found not so much a doctrine (like Winters's more unreflective disciples) as a congeniality. Pinsky prefers a poetry that admits "the abstract, discursive, and conventional nature of words," that allows "statement," that gives "the sound of the writer ambling or running through his subject and speaking about it"—or, in another formulation, "the poet talking, predicating, moving directly through a subject as systematically and unaffectedly as he would walk from one place to another." As Pinsky says candidly, "the discursive . . . is primarily neither ironic nor ecstatic. . . . The idea is to have all of the virtues of prose, in addition to those qualities and degrees of precision which can be called poetic." In such poetry, "the poet claims the right to make an interesting remark or to speak of profundities, with all of the liberty given to the newspaper editorial, a conversation, or any speaker whatever." All of these words—besides espousing a certain sort of verse—are directed against poetic traditions which emphasize, variously, irony, ecstasy, the

uniqueness of private experience, or the nonreferential qualities of words.

Northrop Frye recently described (in his Presidential Address to the MLA) two perennial figures in every society: the wise man and the prophet. Wisdom literature, coming from the wise man, is conservative, continuous, and linked to the past; but "prophecy seems to start from the opposite direction":

The primitive prophets were mediums or oracles who could go into a trance and speak with a different voice, interpreted as the voice of the local god. . . . Prophecy is discontinuous, radical, and linked to the future . . . ; [its] focus is a final transcending of the social order.

One might add, using Pinsky's terms reversed, that the prophetic or ecstatic poet is not discursive, not conventional in his use of language, does not make "statements" (at least not in any ordinary sense of the word), neither ambles nor runs through any "subject" (again, in the usual sense of the word), and certainly does not talk, predicate, or move directly through a subject systematically and unaffectedly. The last thing an ecstatic would compare his utterances to would be a newspaper editorial or a conversation.

Insofar as we realize that there will always be a poetry of the prophetic, the ecstatic, the private, the rhapsodic, and the hermetic, we can then take Pinsky's book for what it is—a firmly stated treatise-of-preference for discursive, rationally apprehensible, and socially based poetry. The errors of the ecstatic, the rhapsodic, and the prophetic are only too easily nameable, at least after seeing some of their false forms in the 1960s. Pinsky is irritated by certain modern versions of this tradition: surrealist privacy, language unrelated to a firm social sense, and a "pursuit of darkness, of silence, of the soul moving in ways . . . unlike abstract thought." He dislikes tones springing from ego-defenses: O'Hara's jaunty flippancy (when treating sad things) and

Helen Vendler teaches at Boston University, and has written books on Yeats, Stevens and Herbert.

even the ironies of Lowell's *Life Studies* are seen as a warding-off of feeling. Pinsky natively prefers a more direct encounter with emotion, a more outright declaration of grief or fear.

It is impossible to argue these questions except in terms of one's own preferences. Underlying Pinsky's book is the question of the exhaustion of certain trends: do we need a new sort of vitality—the vitality of the remark, the conversation, the mimesis of discursive speech—in our poetry? Are we tired of the vatic and the arcane? Would we like to have Pope and Byron back (as to that, who could say no?)—but in modern guise? Pinsky writes well and discerningly on poetry he likes very much—John Clare, J.V. Cunningham, Frank Bidart, Sylvia Plath. These authors, while powerful in sentiment, are eager to do equal justice, as Pinsky sees it, to the phenomena of the world—whether animals, flowers, or human interaction. Pinsky defends their “earnestness,” and their wish to “make their minds known,” and for these virtues he can accede to the sacrifice or subordination of “wittiness and revelation,” “irony or ecstasy.”

It is with Ammons and Lowell that Pinsky encounters difficulties, which he sets plainly forth. He cannot really approve, committed to discursive statement as he is, Lowell's “nervously varied surface texture”; and he disagrees profoundly with Ammons's uncompromising refusal of referentiality (in the mimetic discursive sense) to poetry:

*the music
in poems
is different,
points to nothing,
traps no
realities, takes
no game, but
by motion of
its motion
resembles
what, moving, is.*

This is a grand formulation: that an arrangement of words—providing it is done right—resembles, not by what it says but by what it is—“by the motion of its motion”—some other motion in “reality.” If this is so, the poem that the naive reader sees as an account, a retelling, or a description, is in reality a simulacrum of a certain otherwise indescribable gestalt of feeling. But a poetry that refuses the mimetic, and becomes an arrangement of words, threatens, in Pinsky's view, to become inaccessible to community.

Pinsky's book has the great virtue of

LENSES

Contacts

*Light as parentheses, your scales
(If not quite true so far
For weighing “things exactly as they are,”
OK for skills
And situations) float
Insensibly on unshed tears . . .
One spark of dust? Quick, the extinguishers!
A stare afire, an entire flight
—Out, out! Their little drum's
Twin lids unscrew to let them soak.
And (look) here comes the Sandman with his sack
Of love and dreams.*

Microscopic

*The club is tiny, hard to locate. No
Neon sign, no noise.
You need immense focus and poise
To catch its minstrel show:
Nonstop cakewalk of multiple-jointed
Carbon-featured end-
Man enzymes, each with mirror friend
And high on his personal acid. Disappointed?
Still out to bridge the chasm?
But the strict program will not cease to size
You up, enucleate your inmost eye's
Nostalgie du protoplasme.*

Telescope

*Mark tonight's variation Maggiore. Lento.
Clear. Cold. The heavens' slow, centrifugal evasion
Of the bungled hospitality we call vision.
Even should one of their company, entering the lean-to
Cloaked in a darkness bygone splendors break through,
Begin—O my swineherd!—the retelling, his itinerary
Is simply too complicated, too remote and solitary
For any human mind to stay awake through.
Yes, it was more than you or I could have imagined
Without the sense that made an old black pointer
Dozing by your embers twitch upright, and know the Hunter,
And earn this dusty corner of his legend.*

Camera

*Eyes wild, hair midnight-tangled, robe in disarray,
Convulsed by sobs, or laughter,
Once again they've photographed her,
That everlasting woman led away
From—flash! As background blurs,
Hands out of nowhere reach for tomorrow's saint.
Which terrible, which heavensent
Passion was hers—
Stark grief, stark frenzy, stark
Helpless amusement? All of these?
Not to be effaced by journalesque,
Print her next likeness in your own red dark.*

James Merrill

addressing poetics directly. (Most books about poems address themes, morals, and social contexts.) *The Situation of Poetry* creates a hunger for other comparable books, if only to clarify our language with respect to what poets do. There is as yet no acceptable way to differentiate discursive poems, mimetic poems, and what one could call pseudo-mimetic poems (the sort Ammons refers to in "Motion")—and no agreement on whether in fact all poems are really abstract arrangements of words, mimicking "real" speech or "real" places, but in fact being green thoughts in green shades. Pinsky I think sometimes mistakes arrangements of words for pictures of things: Keats's massed borrowings (in "Nightingale" V) from Milton, Shakespeare, and his own earlier work do not, I think, represent an "attractive appeal to the senses," "a nearly botanical precision," or "splendid and scientific distinctions," as Pinsky thinks they do; they represent, rather, an appeal to a convention of spring poetry, a precision of influence, and a splendid use of words trailing poetic clouds of glory. A more "literary" and less "mimetic" passage would be hard to find. The mere fact that what one

critic can see as attractively descriptive of the "real" world, another can see as powerfully "abstract" (in the sense of a massing of known literary values) means that the questions Pinsky here raises, raise an inquiry into critical difference.

Lawrence tells us not to trust the teller but the tale. To him, Pinsky's argument that "Nightingale" has "a firm moral base" which makes the poet finally reject the impulse to join the immortal bird would ring false. For Lawrence, where the best writing was, there the poem was. If there is good poetry in both the impulse to join the bird and the impulse to reject it, then the poem is a standoff. Pinsky seems to take the narrative "plot" of the Ode—an excursion and return—as a moral statement. But to say that this ode is greater than his use of it is only to join him with the rest of Keats's critics. But, in this case as in others, no one can read Pinsky's writing without being provoked to thought. He comes at poetry from the side of lived and observed life, and common speech: this approach, like its opposite which comes at poetry through intertextuality, has its place in the dialectic of criticism. □

within it a stylistic progression from an early adjectival overabundance to a highly wrought simplicity of tone and directness of vision. One had the feeling that Hecht had actually come into his own, having mastered his masters, incorporated them and consciously altered them in the freedom of his individual voice.

And now, *Millions of Strange Shadows*, his latest volume, has appeared. Would it be unfair to say that I had expected more of the same? Of punctilious craftsmanship, incisive wit and the sort of moral criticism that encompassed not merely comment upon the savagery of the human race but extraordinary sensitivity to one's membership in that race where savagery coexists with filial, sexual, and paternal love. Rarely had the reader been gifted with such poetic perfection as in the closing of "Jason," a poem addressed to Hecht's son:

*Tonight, my dear, when the moon
Settles the radiant dust of every man,
Powders the bedsheets and the floor
With lightness of those gone before,
Sleep then, and dream the story as
foretold:*

*Dream how a little boy alone
With a wooden sword and the top of
a garbage can
Triumphs in gardens full of marigold.*

And while such moments are hard to surpass or even equal, I had expected to see the progression toward a prosaic, crystalline brilliance of style continue. That these expectations were oriented about 180 degrees in the wrong direction is not in itself upsetting. Often, when a poet has achieved success in one manner of expression he finds that to continue in the same mode could well be stasis.

So it would seem that Hecht has moved away from the succinctness of his former diction. Yet, I do not find his results satisfying. For there is a curious leap backward in these poems into an early entanglement with Wallace Stevens. Recently, Hecht gave a lecture/reading in the Guggenheim's "The Education of the Poet" series. Most notably he spoke of two influences on him. The first was his early and intense study of music. The second was his experience as an infantryman in World War II which he survived with the most profound ambivalence in knowing that his own life was saved in the Pacific Theatre by the dropping of the atomic bomb.

It is not surprising to find in Hecht's work something of Stevens. There is, in Stevens, the grace and ease of expression that is also the hallmark of Hecht's

The Poet at Cross Purposes

MILLIONS OF STRANGE SHADOWS. By Anthony Hecht. Atheneum Publishers. 75 pp. \$7.95.

STEVEN MADOFF

Anthony Hecht is a remarkable poet whose talent has been recognized since 1954 when his first book, *A Summoning of Stones*, appeared. Accidentally coming upon the old *A Little Treasury of American Poetry*, first published by Scribner's in the late 1940s, I leafed through to find a brief selection of Hecht's poems alongside those of Berryman, Bishop and Lowell. He did not suffer in that company. It is not surprising to find a hint of Auden about these early verses, a hint of Hardy as well. There is also a touch of Browning. Out of these poets, Hecht has, with unwavering fastidiousness, trained himself in the techniques of meter, of rhyme, and of complex stanzaic forms. He is a poet in the earliest significance of that word: a maker, a craftsman.

His poetic fastidiousness attracts a

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rarefied audience equally fastidious in its tastes, and one which was not disappointed by Hecht's second volume, *The Hard Hours*, published in 1967. The following year this work was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. These poems have a greater breadth than the earlier ones. Hecht's technique achieved a new freedom in which urbane wit was fed by the fluid movement between highly stylized description and vernacular reference. The effect was at times quite subtle, at other moments exceedingly witty, at others poignant, and devastating. The result, as in the poem "More Light! More Light!," was of a powerful moral outrage mitigated by the tensile strength of its containing structure:

*We move now to outside a German
wood.*

*Three men are there commanded to dig
a hole*

*In which the two Jews are ordered to
lie down*

*And be buried alive by the third, who
is a Pole.*

Hecht's control here is absolute. His quiet manner of expression magnifies the horror of his subject. He is eloquent and precise. *The Hard Hours* carried

LET ME TELL YOU

*What is it that is missed: the time
as it slides through familiar light?
the cat, a dark rock under the light?
I can think of nothing to say to you.*

*The red brick of the walls outside
my room
grows softer as the days pass. The fly
on the curtain grows fat. One day
it will grow too fat, too lonely.*

*I think back to another place I left
long ago: mock tropical, too warm
to live in. Distance couldn't transform
it—it was that far away.*

*But that is farther away
than what is missed now,
and you have nothing to say.
People pair up against the lonely*

*like me. How can I write you of this?
Each morning the couples come down—
they bring what they would miss,
they can eat together. It is all gesture
in the end—to leave what you need
behind, to bring it with you. It is
all the same. How difficult
it is to tell you what I need.*

Daniel Halpern

exquisite craftsmanship. But more than this, Stevens exhibits a marked interest in music as a medium and a transcendent force. Further, the philosophical and musical intricacies in Stevens's poetry afford Hecht the propulsive move-

ment, an opposite intonation, from the prosaism of his former style.

For Stevens, the transcendent quality of music worked as a way to get beyond the surface structure of reality, to get to its origin. While he stated, in "The Emperor of Ice-Cream," "Let be be finale of seem," in "The Idea of Order at Key West" he spoke of the idea that reality is effect, as the musician, as the artist is cause. He ended the poem describing "the maker's rage to order words of the sea," words "of ourselves and of our origins. . . ." Hecht picks up on this in his poem "Dichtung und Wahrheit":

*. . . Just how such truth
Gets itself stated in pralltrillers and
mordents
Not everyone can say. But the 'cellist,
Leaning over his labors, his eyes closed,
Is engaged in that study, blocking out,
for the moment,
Audience, hall, and a great part of him-
self
In what, not wrongly, might be called
research,
Or the most private kind of honesty. . . .*

*It is, in the end, the solitary scholar
Who returns us to the freshness of the
text,
Which returns us to the freshness of
the world
In which we find ourselves, like replicas,
Dazzled by glittering dawns, upon a
stage. . . .
Enter The Prologue, who at once de-
clares,
"We begin with the supreme donnée,
the word."*

This notion of music as a transcendent form and the musician, the artificer, as

a creator of reality, is highly attractive to Hecht. But, unfortunately, the extent of Stevens's influence reaches beyond concept into the matter of style. It is the attraction of Stevens's other music: the melodic intricacy of expression, the expansive discourse that is propelled through its argument as much by the perfection of the words' sounds as by the thesis that they construct. The complexity of this marriage makes for a certain inscrutability, as if the hypnotic dazzle of words stood upright like a stand of pines and the length of such discourse stretched that grove out to the periphery of vision.

The resonance of Stevens is strong in *Millions of Strange Shadows*. His signature can be heard in Hecht's own kind of music—the expansive circumspection brought to bear on art and life, *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, through a tenuous mellifluousness that often seems to fail (see, for example, the beginning of "A Birthday Poem") because his descriptions only expand the image without sequitur and without tenaciously selecting images that draw one back to the reality of the poet's situation within the scene. These poems are largely autobiographical, but at numerous points Hecht's descriptive obliquity distracts us from his potentially powerful focus on himself in a moral struggle with the human condition:

*Those soldiers, like some senior class,
Were they prepared to dye
In silver nitrate images
Behind the camera eye?*

*It needs a Faust to animate
The wan homunculus,
Construe the stark, unchanging text,
Winkle the likes of us*

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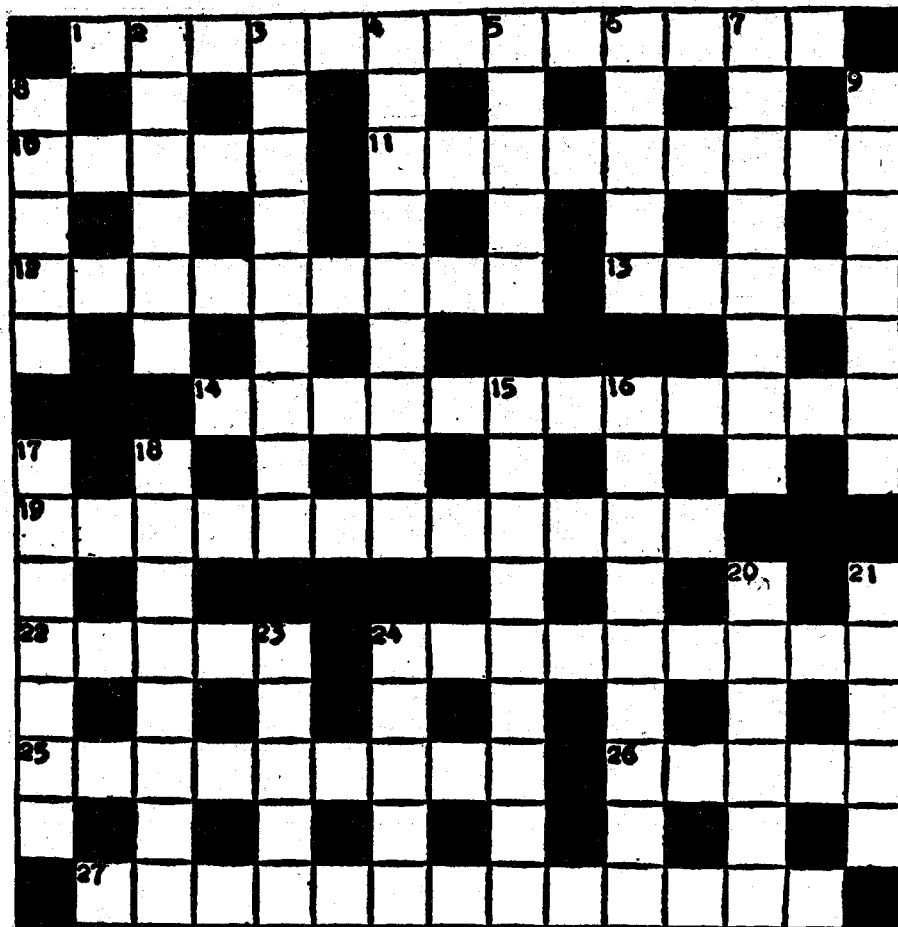
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Crossword Puzzle No. 1691

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Not just the usual armament—though used to control our forces. (8,2,3)
- 10 You French should be familiar with common back-talk! It comes up every so often! (5)
- 11 A bad golfer can make a birdie with it. (9)
- 12 Hangers-on, not necessarily along the Champs-Elysees. (9)
- 13 Otherwise Mack brings a common rat back to the egghead. (5)
- 14 Sounds like gain is of secondary importance for such as Amos. (5,7)
- 19 You might have father tiring out this way, though still delivering the goods. (7,5)
- 22 No, sir! You won't find much else in such clubs! (5)
- 24 You're very positive with such, and an animal rug is going to end up with a large number! (9)
- 25 The Chained Lady, as well as a well-known city prosecutor. (9)
- 26 One gets on in front as well as in back—it might be the Spanish type. (5)
- 27 How 11 is made up? Exactly so! (3,3,3,4)

DOWN

- 2 Responsible for strict lines of royalty and such? (6)
- 3 Drivers should be careful, incidentally. (2,7)
- 4 Runs like this? Taps, at this time. (6,3)
- 5 Comes in on board, but sounds like

- those menial types. (5)
- 6 What is vulgarly called a dog in some parks (the short version) is also free. (5)
- 7 One hears it might have been port or starboard to Noah. (3,5)
- 8 All these are reputedly pulled out by those who try hardest. (5)
- 9 They might be nuisances in certain denominations, and one doesn't like them around the house. (7)
- 15 Perhaps a short article or statistical diagram for a type of rubber. (9)
- 16 Perhaps descriptive of certain layers, as a type. (9)
- 17 A short weekday is able to be typical of one in Timbaktu. (7)
- 18 Been around part of the ship? You'll be indebted this way. (8)
- 20 Mary, according to Douay. (6)
- 21 People in our time get to change things. (5)
- 23 The smashing of atoms might be essential in some plants. (5)
- 24 You might find father round about, as I fear. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1690

ACROSS: 1 As far as it goes; 10 Strange; 11 Darkens; 12 Acetate; 13 Needier; 14 Attests; 15 Suspect; 16 Upright; 20 Giraffe; 23 Testate; 24 Antonio; 25 Palmist; 26 Pries up; 27 Dress designer. DOWN: 2 Sargent; 3 Annuals; 4 Ageless; 5 Indents; 6 Garnets; 7 Eremitic; 8 Asparagus tips; 9 Esprit de corps; 17 Rustler; 18 Goalies; 19 Treated; 20 Grampus; 21 Rotting; 22 Finesse.

How Much Do You Know About Human Behavior?

1. **What part of your face is the best at sending emotional messages?**
(a) Eyes; (b) Mouth; (c) Forehead; (d) Combination
2. **Why do the rich usually marry each other?**
(a) Financial reasons; (b) How they're brought up; (c) Less divorce; (d) All classes tend to marry peers
3. **What is the sexual secret of marijuana?**
(a) It increases potency; (b) It affects males more than females; (c) It reduces sensuality; (d) It does nothing
4. **How do most people react to personal tragedy?**
(a) Seek professional help; (b) Turn to religion; (c) Escape through drugs or drink; (d) Adjust and work it out
5. **When should your children stop sleeping with you?**
(a) 1-2 years old; (b) 3-6 years old; (c) Whenever seems natural; (d) They should never sleep with you
6. **What type of men have the most problems dealing with liberated women?**
(a) Bachelors; (b) Insecure, introverted; (c) Divorced; (d) Family oriented
7. **What do your dreams indicate?**
(a) You are justifying your behavior; (b) You ate something disagreeable; (c) You lack other adequate emotional outlets; (d) You have an active imagination.
8. **Are minority athletes treated with kid gloves?**
(a) In most cases; (b) They are treated like everyone; (c) They are treated worse; (d) Depends on their ability
9. **Which of these types is most likely to be a political assassin?**
(a) Political activist; (b) Small, asocial dropout; (c) Person with a history of violence; (d) Physically active
10. **Does an active premarital sex life decrease your appetite for a monogamous relationship?**
(a) Depends on the number of relationships; (b) Depends on types of relationships; (c) Commitment grows with each new relationship; (d) Sexual permissiveness often leads to emotional paralysis

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